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THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND ^{AP} HOLBORN REVIEW

EDITOR: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

OCTOBER 1948

Price 4s.

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LONDON
THE EPWORTH PRESS
FRANK · H · CUMBERS
25 · 35 · CITY ROAD · E.C.1

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

LITERATURE HISTORY SOCIOLOGY
RELIGION THEOLOGY PHILOSOPHY

Editor: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review is published on the 25th of March, June, September, and December by the Epworth Press, 25-35 City Road, London, E.C.1. It may be obtained from the publishers or any bookseller at 4s. a copy (postage 3d.) or 15s. per annum, post free.

All contributions (typewritten, if possible), should be addressed to The Editor, 'The London Quarterly and Holborn Review', 25-35 City Road, E.C.1, with stamped addressed envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

NATIONAL—

but not nationalised

Despite all the Government is doing for children deprived of a normal home life, the National Children's Home, like all the other recognised voluntary societies, is left free to carry on the work it has pioneered for nearly eighty years. This means it still has to raise its own income—a formidable task when it is remembered that nearly 4,000 girls and boys are being cared for.

We mention this point because there is widespread misunderstanding of the Home's present position. The need for funds is as great as ever, and it is hoped that you will keep on helping. In fact, even more support is required to meet the increased cost of maintaining this important national service.

NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME

Chief Offices: Highbury Park, London, N.5

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Editorial Comments

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

THOUGH it is too early to assess the work of the Lambeth Conference, the Report which records the deliberations and findings of three hundred and twenty-five bishops will be of permanent value.

It is eighteen years since the last such Conference met, and the world has changed more completely in the interim than in any corresponding period in its whole history. The fact that so many men, representing so many schools of thought, and coming from such different circumstances achieved substantial unity in their discussions is—to say the least of it—encouraging. The experience of leaders, obviously in close touch with life in places as far apart as Britain and Japan, or India and the Sudan and faced by distances that are measured not only in miles, but in ways of thinking and of living, was brought to bear on the major problems of mankind, today.

To read the Encyclical Letter, so phrased that every Christian should study it as a duty and a privilege, is to be reminded not only of the task that faces the whole Church and every individual member, but of the inexhaustible resources which are available in Christ Jesus.

The depressed and the oppressed are reminded that many of the first Christians were slaves, who suffered, and that many of the younger Churches of our own day have been 'born in martyrdom'. 'The Christian life is always difficult,' say the bishops. 'The fight against evil is always costly. Without the Cross, there could have been no Resurrection. But the Resurrection is the guarantee that the love of God is stronger than death or evil.' This is the unyielding faith on which the Lambeth Conference bases its Report, and it should ensure the respect and careful attention of all Christian people, even on those details which will not receive unqualified approval. 'Christians may not always be better than their neighbours, but we serve a better Master. His is the cause that has life and hope in it.'

In offering Christ—to use a Methodist term—the Report is realistic in its recognition of the complex problems which face men, everywhere, today. What is wrong with the world, in other words, what creates the terrifying complexities, is that 'it has forsaken or never known the true God, and is defying his moral law'. The solution is to be found in God's power, His purpose and the love shown to us in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ and 'in the living presence of Christ dwelling with man through the Holy Spirit in the Church'.

In considering the Doctrine of Man, the bishops welcome 'the great expansion of man's understanding of himself and of the world' but warn men against the wrong use of the new knowledge. There is, they point out, a danger, also, of identifying man's happiness with his material possessions. The acquisitive faculty breeds strife, and man as a spiritual being, needs much more than an abundance of material things.

Nor can Christians agree to the absorption of the individual in the service of

the State. 'When a society treats its members merely as means towards the securing of its ends, it becomes a destroyer of men's souls.'

Though the recent menace of totalitarian States has been overcome, it has been succeeded by the new danger from Marxian Communism, with its militant atheism and its purely materialistic values. The condemnation, by Christians, of its cruelties and 'lying propaganda' must not blind them to the fact that 'Communism has awakened a disciplined response in the minds of many, both in the West and in the East, who do not necessarily share its atheism or its doctrine of man. To them Communism appears as a protest against social injustice'. In so far as it emphasizes a concern for the depressed and downtrodden it is a rebuke to the Church and society, at large, for the insufficient, or feeble, condemnation of social evils.

The Encyclical reminds us that all forms of economic domination which are forms of secularism, not recognizing moral law, must be opposed by the Christian proclamation of man's divine origin. 'This is God's world and man's appointed training ground for eternity.'

While the Church must insist on the freedom, and essential human rights for all, irrespective of race or colour, it must also emphasize man's duties—'to God by uprightness of life, to society by honest work, and to each other by bearing one another's burdens'.

So far from contenting themselves with wishful thinking on the problem of war and peace, the Churches are urged to give strong support to the United Nations, and the nations are called upon to work together to remove the causes of war and to promote human culture and welfare, even if this involves the limitation of national sovereignty.

Recognizing the tendency of the State to control educational and welfare work, the Church is warned against leaving this sphere, and against acquiescing in any encroachment on the rights of human personality. In general welfare work, and in education particularly, the Christian has an essential contribution to make.

On the many issues involved in the consideration of 'God in His Church' the bishops made several important pronouncements on the possibilities of Christian unity and on the union of episcopal and non-episcopal tradition in the Church of South India. Giving thanks to God for 'the measure of unity thus locally achieved the Conference records that some features of the Constitution of the Church of South India give rise to uncertainty or grave misgivings in the minds of many, and hopes that such action may be taken as to lead to the day when the present measure of mutual recognition and intercommunion may become full communion between the Church of South India and the Churches of the Anglican Communion'. While this statement is candid, cautious, and perhaps inevitable, it is followed by a rider which contains something stronger than a pious hope. 'We have pledged ourselves', the bishops declare, 'to do all in our power, by consultation, work and prayer, to bring about that end.'

Though the Report outlines the possibility and desirability of a united Church, Catholic and Evangelical, and associates itself with the larger cause, it makes it clear that the Anglican Communion could not 'allow itself to be dispersed before its particular work was done'. The Ecumenical Movement is characterized as 'one of the principal facts in the Christian life of our times' and

the World Council of Churches is described as 'marking a notable stage in that movement'.

In all, a hundred and eighteen resolutions were passed. They are arranged in five main groups: the Christian Doctrine of Man; the Church and the Modern World; the Unity of the Church; the Anglican Communion; and the Church's Discipline on Marriage, Baptism and Confirmation, the Proposed Chinese Canon, and the Administration of Holy Communion.

The five resolutions under the heading 'The Christian Doctrine of Man' contain some noteworthy affirmations. Amongst them are the following: 'We insist that the consequent growth of man's knowledge increases his moral responsibility for the use he makes of it. . . . Personality is developed in community, but the community must be one of free persons. The Christian must therefore judge every social system by its effect on human personality.'

There are forty-four resolutions in the section on the Church and the Modern World, and they include groups on Human Rights, the Church and War, Palestine, the Church and the Modern State, Communism, Education, the Church Militant, and the Christian Way of Life. Under the last-named heading resolutions 45, 46, and 48 deal with life in the home: 'The Conference stresses the urgency of providing that every family should have a home of its own which provides for fellowship and privacy.' 'The Conference affirms that education should be more than a training for a livelihood or even for citizenship. It should be based on the fact that every child is a child of God created by God for citizenship in heaven as well as on earth.' 'The Conference, recognizing that marriage and motherhood remain the normal vocation of women, urges the importance of fostering on girls the sense of the dignity of this calling, and the need to prepare for it. At the same time it welcomes the great contributions now being made by women in many walks of life, and urges that girls and young women be given the fullest possible opportunities for vocational training.'

No less than twenty-eight resolutions are concerned with the Unity of the Church, and fourteen deal with domestic matters within the Anglican Communion. The remaining twenty-seven deal with Church Discipline, and include eight on problems of Marriage and Divorce, some of which will doubtless be criticized by many sincere Christians who feel that the innocent party in a divorce should be treated with greater consideration.

No résumé of such a comprehensive Report could do justice to its searching analyses and wise, strong, and charitable conclusions. It is only by long and careful study of the findings that one can appreciate the breadth of the survey and the depths of its challenge. How John Wesley would have rejoiced at its publication! He would have made here and there a pungent criticism, but, on the whole, we believe he would have received it with gratitude and enthusiasm. What a difference such a document might have made in the eighteenth century!

LESLIE F. CHURCH

THE CENTENARY OF RICHARD JEFFERIES

In Salisbury Cathedral there is a marble bust of Richard Jefferies, by Margaret Thomas, and underneath is the following inscription: 'To the memory of Richard Jefferies, born in the parish of Chiseldon and County of Wilts, Nov. 6, 1848; died at Goring, in the County of Sussex, Aug. 14, 1887; who, observing the wishes of Almighty God with a pious eye, has enriched the literature of his country and made for himself a place amongst those who have made men happier and wiser.' It is a remarkable tribute to a man who has been called atheist, pantheist, agnostic or pagan by friends and foes alike.

On his grave in Broadwater the inscription reads: 'To the honoured memory of the Prose Poet of England's Fields and Woodlands.'

He is sometimes described as a great naturalist, but this does not mean that he recorded facts for scientific classification but rather, as his son Richard Harold Jefferies once said he 'sought to come at the alchemy of nature and would fain extract from things that grow and blow "honey for the inner mind and soul"'. Whilst it is true that he had amazing powers of minute observation he interpreted what he saw as a poet, a mystic, and a pilgrim.

The Victorian world in which he wrote was shocked by the story of his uncompleted pilgrimage. The *Pall Mall Gazette* lent its columns to a fierce controversy on 'The Pernicious Works of Richard Jefferies' in which one side struggled to prove he died an orthodox Christian, and the other stoutly maintained he was a free-thinker until he became too ill to think at all. In *The Story of My Heart* he had used the phrase—'infinitely higher than Deity' and it was assumed by both parties that this amounted to a denial of God. As Reginald Arkell says, in his admirable study, they were 'dull churchmen and duller agnostics'. They did not begin to understand 'when Richard Jefferies, standing face to face with Nature and the unknown, produced a record of his emotions.' Some of them pronounced him knave, some fool and some, with great joy, glorified him as arch-heretic! But he was none of these. On one short road, Surbiton-way, he saw sixty different wild flowers, because his eager eyes were wide in expectation. 'Wandering with the pictured flower-book, just purchased,' he tells us, 'I sat on the sheltered slope, and instantly recognized the orange-red claws of the flower beside me. That was the first; and this very morning, I dread to consider how many years afterwards, I found a plant in a wall which I do not know. I shall have to trace out its genealogy and emblazon its shield. So many years and still only at the beginning—the beginning, too, of the beginning—for as yet I have not thought of the garden or conservatory flowers, *which are wild flowers somewhere*; or of the tropics or the prairies.' It was the wild flowers he was seeking—this rebel farmer's son who heard in those earliest days, the music of the harebell on 'the Downs'. 'I was sensitive to all things,' he said. 'Sometimes a very ecstasy of exquisite enjoyment of the entire visible universe filled me.' So sensitive indeed, that England first heard of him, not because he felt the wonder of birds and bees, but because he wrote letters to *The Times* on 'The Wiltshire Agricultural Labourer' and revealed himself as an observer of his fellow-men.

It is absurd to classify him as a writer or philosopher. Even so careful a critic as A. G. Bradley declares he is unique. There are moments when he reminds us

of Shelley, and again of Thoreau, and there are times when we think of Walt Whitman or Maurice Maeterlinck but if you would know him you must climb the Wiltshire Downs to the tumulus near Cuddington Camp, with its ancient earthworks and its beech-trees, and Coate Farm in the Vale three miles away. There he tried to see into the heart of things and reached out to the eternal.

It was seventeen years before he gathered all the story of his heart, to give us an unfinished book, but it began when he was eighteen. 'My heart was dusty, parched for want of the rain of deep feeling; my mind arid and dry, for there is a dust which settles on the heart as well as that which falls on a ledge. . . . When this began to form, I felt eager to escape from it, to throw it off like heavy clothing, to drink deeply once more at the fresh fountains of life.'—It was then he climbed the hill and breathed 'the pure air of thought'. It was then, Deity or no Deity, he wanted to pray!

'Dreamy in appearance, I was breathing full of existence; I was aware of the grass-blades, the flowers, the leaves on hawthorn and tree, I seemed to live more largely through them, as if each were a pure thought which I drank. I was plunged deep in existence and, with all that existence, I prayed. . . . All the succeeding incidents of the year repeated my prayer as I noted them. The first green leaf on the hawthorn, the first spike of meadow grass, the first song of the nightingale, the green ear of wheat. . . . All the larks over the green corn sang it for me, all the dear swallows; the green leaves rustled it; the green brook-flags waved it; the swallows took it with them to repeat it for me in distant lands.'

He strove to form the prayer, to exalt his soul and his body, and 'to construct a more flexible engine with which to carry into execution the design of the will'.

Voices spoke to him on the hill-top and if he alone heard them, at least he shares with us, whose ears are stopped, the things he heard. Think for a moment of the words this 'pagan' wrote:

The soul stands of all things nearest the Unknown.

Matter no more explains one part, than spirit the other.

Do not measure the Universe by a tombstone.

What irresistibly attracts me is the Beyond.

Let us not look at ourselves but onwards, and take strength from the leaf and the signs of the field. He is indeed despicable who cannot look onwards to the ideal life of man.

Every blade of grass, each leaf, each separate floret and petal, is an inscription speaking of hope.

As one reads it becomes absurd to say that Richard Jefferies did not believe in the Great Design. We cannot believe his critics who condemn or praise him for such negation. We cannot believe him when for a moment he seems to justify their conclusions. 'Let my soul become enlarged,' he cries. 'I am not enough.' Or again, 'Now is eternity, now I am in the midst of immortality; now the supernatural crowds around me.'

It is not morbid introspection which leads him to say, 'How willingly I would strew the paths of all with flowers; how beautiful a delight to make the world joyous!'

'By night, in the still silence, Heaven has her own way,' says this man, who called himself a pagan! He seems at times full of contradictions as, indeed, do

most pilgrims as they plod on. The tragedy is that he does not tell us whether he is bound, nor very plainly how far he has travelled.

He is no party man, and has no axe to grind. He is too tragic and, at times, too passionate, to be a tramp, yet there is a vagueness about those seventeen years, that leaves one sorrowful. It is not that he has destroyed our faith, but that he has groped not in the dark, but in the sunlight.

His was a short life. Thirty-eight years is not long in which to define the Eternal. In spite of Walter Besant's insistence on 'the unreality of Jefferies' death-bed conversion to orthodoxy' one feels that a new chapter opened in the little cottage at Goring where he died. His intimate and much-loved friend, J. W. North, who was with him in his last days deserves to be heard. He is surely a reliable witness. 'One thing more,' he writes. 'His wife said that their time had been for long spent in prayer together, and reading St. Luke. Almost his last intelligible words were: "Yes, yes, that is so. Help, Lord, for Jesu's sake. Darling, good-bye. God bless you and the children, and save you all from such great pain."'

When we have read the critics we turn again to the friend. They wrote in remote places. He stood by his side, and surely knew. Is it sufficient to dismiss those last days with the brusque comment that he was too ill to resist the pressure of those about him? If one follows his short earthly pilgrimage with its increasing hints of immortality, is it not fair to conclude that there *came to him* in his pain and weariness that which he had sought to win by his own endeavour? Was not that last year when, as he says, he was frustrated by disease, despair and poverty, the very proof that even his brave spirit was not independent of his Maker?

This does not mean that his 'progressive intellect' would have to go back to 'a creed which he had once conscientiously held, but had gradually outgrown and abandoned'. There could be no *going back* and we should find it as difficult as did H. S. Salt, his biographer, to believe he would retreat. As he looked through the little window of 'Sea View', and turned to see the sorrow of his devoted wife, he knew he must pray once more. It was no longer enough to yearn amidst the immensities. This time he cried 'God bless you' and it was a prayer—not the shibboleth of an autumn creed.

A Richard Jefferies Memorial Prize was recently awarded to David Gravett, aged eighteen, for an essay which reaches its climax in the following passage: 'I feel that when Jefferies walked on the Downs that day, he walked very close to God. . . . As I write I cannot help thinking that Jefferies came across something very wonderful and very great. I can hardly express what I mean, but I think I mean that he found a link between Nature and God.'—We think so too, but we are particularly grateful that the conclusion should be reached by so young a critic. His essay appears in a collection of tributes to the memory of Richard Jefferies, and amongst them is a graceful appreciation by Clifford Bax, but it contains this sentence: 'I suspect that most contemporary youths of fifteen or sixteen now quickly and painlessly assume that there is no God and no soul.' Even so distinguished a writer must find some modification of such assumption in the words of David Gravett.

It is none the less difficult to assess the value of Jefferies in words. A medical man, Dr. Samuel Jones, writing of his experience, admits his own perplexity.

'There was one apocalypse in the island of Patmos,' he says, 'and another on that silent hill-top of Wiltshire; and to us both are incomprehensible.'—Yet there are some things one may understand and possess. 'As a devout spirit he must be heard, a devout spirit without one holy ancient relic save his own soul,' said Edward Thomas contenting himself with watching Jefferies battle at odds with the universe, and pronouncing it 'an inspiring spectacle'!

To some of us there still comes that last 'God bless you' which he began to say as he gave us the magic of spring on a Wiltshire lane and continued to repent through the years as he watched with wonder, the beauty of life and all creation and reached out to the Absolute to which he felt so mysteriously akin.

A PAGEANT OF DOLLS

It seems a far cry from a child playing with a doll in a nursery to a philosopher withdrawn in the seclusion of his study, or a saint on his knees in a hermit's cell, but, in fact, there is no great distance separating them. They are all three little more than pilgrims, against the background of eternity. In *A Pageant of Dolls* Lesley Gordon not only describes with considerable charm, dolls of all nations, but, in the first part of the book, considers the function of the doll in religious and social necessities, and even as 'ambassadors of good-will'.

The Keeper of the Departments of Engraving, Illustration and Design, and of Paintings, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, James Laver, has written an admirable Foreword. 'Some magic still clings about the doll,' he says, 'even when it has been discarded. Once any object has been used as the peg for an emotion, when, in a word, it has been loved, it does not easily lose its evocative power. If it is a doll, the sawdust may run out of the heels of its boots, but its frail and battered body is still charged with *mana*.' Its story may not be written as simply as an account of a piece of Dresden china, or as the record of a monument to a Pharaoh. It reaches down to the depths of human personality, and hovers at times in that hinterland where the divine and human seems to merge. There are sinister spells, idolators and sorcerers, and there are cradle songs and the music praise and thanksgiving which comes from hearts that yearn, and is born of longings that cannot be satisfied when the spirit is earth-bound. The full record would need the sympathetic understanding of theologians and psychologists, as well as the knowledge of the historian and anthropologist. 'Dolls are as old as the gods,' says Mr. Laver. In characterizing this unusual book, he concludes with this passage: 'Her book provides a series of signposts—pointing in all directions. One path leads back to the confines of the Earthly Paradise, and one to the very gates of Hell. For the doll can be anything, from a toy to a talisman, and can gather up into its small, frail body all the hatred of a witch—and all the love of a child.' Here in this admirable commendation, is a signpost for a generation that has too easily forsaken the fundamental truths of the nursery for the noisy propaganda of the market-place. It may be that we shall have to discover again the meaning of the heart hunger that made the doll, if we are to be delivered from the bondage of blue-prints and the poverty of material valuations.

There is some evidence that the cave man shaped a figurine as an offering to

his gods, and Lesley Gordon reminds us that the Ushabti or Answerers of ancient Egypt were funeral figures which saved the lives of those who, amongst mere primitive people, would have been demanded at the burial of the distinguished dead. Ancestor dolls from Greece and Rome, totems from the country of the Odschibbewa, and talisman dolls from central Africa, the Low Countries, New Zealand, or Japan, each have some special significance, and are indeed, signposts which point the serious inquirer to the line of man's spiritual pilgrimage.

Though part of this fascinating book is concerned with shapes and costumes, it is pleasantly provocative and Lesley Gordon is to be congratulated on giving hard-pressed and even dispirited people what is too modestly described as 'a short history of a somewhat silent race'.¹

The book is attractively produced, and generously illustrated.

¹ *A Pageant of Dolls*, by Lesley Gordon (Foreword by James Laver), 15s. net; Edmund Ward, Leicester.

Extract of Letter from the Rev. H. D. HALDERMAN:

Box 76,

New Madison, Ohio.

U.S.A.

9th July, 1948.

SIR,

I am compiling an extended bibliography on the Parables of Jesus Christ, I am including English, French and German authors. May I appeal to your readers to send me the names of authors of books and magazine articles that should be included in such a bibliography. Please give author's name, title of books or article, publisher, and date of publication.

Articles

THE DEPRIVATION OF LOVE AS A CAUSE OF ILLNESS AND THE RELEVANCE THERETO OF RELIGION

THE CREDIT for the discovery that neurosis is largely, if not entirely, traceable to a deprivation of love in the life of the patient, and most commonly when the latter was a child, must go to Dr. J. A. Hadfield, Lecturer in Psychology in the University of London, author of *Psychology and Morals*, etc., who has been teaching this theory for many years, and who has now incorporated it in his latest book.¹

It is a revolutionary theory, but my own observations, for what they are worth, make me a most ardent supporter of this view. It may seem dangerous generalization to attempt to trace the diverse psycho-neurotic symptoms to one common cause, and, no doubt, there are some exceptions, but the evidence of the truth of Hadfield's basic principle is, in my view, overwhelming.

By 'love' in this connexion, I do not mean sexual love or romantic, sentimental love by themselves, though both must be included and both fulfil a need. I am rather thinking here of that affection, or goodwill, or appreciation which should surround the life of every little child. If it is given to him to the degree to which he has a right, then, even though he may be punished for his faults or deprived of many other advantages, for example, a good education, plenty of pocket-money, and a good time generally, his mind will develop without distortion and his mental attitudes to himself and to the world generally will be free from neurotic trends.

If, however, he is denied love, in the sense defined, nothing on earth appears to make up to him the deficiency. He may be treated to expensive presents and holidays and provided for in every possible material way, but if he has no love, it profiteth nothing.

What, then, happens to the child deprived of love? He may react in several possible ways, both in childhood and in his later life. I avoid the phrase 'adult life' because the neurotic deprived of love does not usually react in an adult way until his neurosis is cured. Indeed, curing him involves teaching him how childish his reactions are and helping him to find adult reactions.

Uncured, he usually reacts in one of three ways.

(1) He may pathetically seek for love from others by trying to please people. We know the 'clinging type' of person who so badly wants to be liked that his ethical principles, his moral scruples, his sense of truth, beauty and goodness, the conclusions of his reason, are all sacrificed on the altar of pleasing people and of pleasing them sufficiently to win their approval. Not getting the affection from his parents—or not believing in its reality, which has the same effect on his mind as deprivation—he seeks a love-substitute from other people. The schoolboy longs for the approval of the schoolmaster whom he has put on a

¹ Soon to be published by Allen & Unwin. I am grateful to Dr. Hadfield for kindly reading the typescript of this article. I was eager not to misrepresent his point of view.

pedestal, the school-girl has a 'pash' (grande passion) on a mistress; with varying degrees of sycophancy the employee seeks to win the praise of the employer and failure to win praise has a desolating effect out of all proportion to its value, reducing the 'patient'—for so he must be called—to depression and exaggerated despair. The child deeply loved at home, even though teased or punished, poor and often hungry, seems to have such a deep, emotional satisfaction that he does not need to strive so pathetically for appreciation outside, nor is he made so miserable if it be withheld.

It seems clear that not only neuroses but some of the great achievements in all walks of life could be traced to the deprivation of love. The records of fame could fruitfully be searched, I believe, for cases in which children, deprived of love, have grown up and married, and even marriage has been a disappointment. Physically, mentally, or spiritually they have remained starved of love. Still seeking love, men and women have thrown themselves into work, and, believing themselves to be working for the work's sake, their unconscious motive has been to win fame. For the applause of the crowd, the goodwill of the public, the publicity of the Press, are love-substitutes and the very wine of life to their thirsty souls. The sad thing is that they remain substitutes; wine, not food; intoxicating but not building the personality up. Albert's many school-prizes do not make up to him for the fact that his mother doesn't *really* love him, and when, having grown up and married a frigid woman, he lectures to, or sings to, or acts before, audiences which clap him to the echo, his heart remains unsatisfied, though the adulation of the public is better than nothing. The delirious approval of the whole community does not give to the ego what one loving woman could give, and the love-famished celebrity goes on his way, for ever seeking, but for ever hungry, though his hunger has given him fame and given the community a quality of service which it might never have had if he had had real love.

(2) He may develop a reaction character-trait. Here again I use a phrase of Hadfield's. Its meaning is seen in an actual case. Mabel is the first-born child of Mr. and Mrs. Harris—fictitious names but not a fictitious case. There is some disappointment that she was not a boy and this the child clearly apprehends. With her father she is a great favourite, but from the first Mabel has not much belief in her mother's love. When Mabel was six years of age, she was sent to boarding-school and her parents went to China. Life at boarding-school was hard. In those days canings were frequent. All letters were censored. Mabel remembers having to re-write her letters to China, so as to make her parents believe she was happy. The schoolmistress was neurotic and sadistic. At times, while Mr. and Mrs. Harris were on furlough in England, for instance, Mabel was spoilt at school. But for long periods she was most harshly treated and caned unmercifully for the most trivial faults.

By the time her parents returned to England to live, they had had a second child, also a daughter, whom we will call Gladys. Eagerly Mabel awaited her parents coming to fetch her home to live with them. How desperately she longed for a *mother*! But alas, when the great day came, Mrs. Harris, who, admittedly, had lived without Mabel for six years, said to her first-born: 'Why, Mabel, I'd almost forgotten I'd got you.' It was a fatal remark to make. And its implications were lived up to. It was always Gladys who

was praised, Mabel who was blamed. They looked for Mabel when something was found broken. Gladys was the light of her mother's eyes and 'Mummy's good little girl'.

Mabel might have become sycophantic, or found ways of pleasing her mother, but she was not that kind of person. She developed a reaction character-trait which could be described thus: In her heart Mabel said: 'All right, if you won't give me love, you can jolly well keep it. I know now that I can't depend on love, but I'll show that I can do without it.' So, Mabel developed an exaggerated independence. No one could ever do anything for her. She shook them off, as it were. 'I can look after myself. I don't need you and I don't believe in your affection,' was the kind of hard, exterior attitude to all others who would have loved her and appreciated her.

Of course, the hunger for love was not thus eradicated. It was repressed into the unconscious and showed its activity there by the aggressive and hysterical symptoms thrown up into consciousness by the repressed complex.

One symptom was a fierce jealousy. Jealousy is made up of two ingredients. The desire to be loved and the fear that love will be withheld. Often the measure of the ferocity of jealousy is the measure, both of the desire for love and the fear of its being withheld. People who have always been loved are not usually jealous because they are not afraid of losing love. Mabel, for the rest of her life, was always jealous, because the fear of the return of misery consequent on discovering that she was not really loved, never left her.

Second, she developed what might be called the martyr complex. She really sought ways of being 'miserable' because then, perchance, others would sympathize with, or pity her. And pity and sympathy are love-substitutes, but, of course, they have to be called out by misery. A happy, healthy person, with no hardships, calls out no pity or sympathy. The expression, 'Poor Mabel', became a slogan among her friends. Always she could recite some story of mishap, inconvenience, ill-health, or grievance, which would draw the pity from those who did not see through the whole business.

Third, she would develop a self-immolation to an almost unbelievable degree. She would work from morning till night, gloat as she told you she 'hadn't sat down all day', rest secretly, but never openly. Rest calls forth no pity. Overwork does.² At all costs, she must get love or one of its many substitutes. But she did not wistfully ask for love. Love had deceived her, so she would never try it or trust it again. But by fierce self-persecution, in martyrdom or immolations, she would seek its substitutes. Presents she would heap on people to buy their affection. If presents were given her, she would assess their value and give back something more valuable! Service to them she would give in costly measure to make them grateful. People loved her. But she never believed them or that their love was genuine and for her own sake. It was for some other reason! This is the genuine reaction-character-trait.

Others who have repressed their hunger for love, develop hostility, cynicism, or an icy and affected indifference in regard to any friendly approach from others. They suspect that 'there is a catch in it somewhere', if anyone shows

² 'Nervous breakdown' due to overwork should be examined. How often men overwork because they are both unhappy at home and ambitious. They are driven on in their ambition by the desire for praise, and they desire praise because it is a substitute for the love which is denied them at home.

them goodwill. They suspect the motives of any who show them kindness. It is not quite fair to blame them. They are sick in soul and mind. At some early crisis or series of demanding occasions, love failed them when they needed it most. Very well, they will do without it, suspect it if it is offered, and refuse to trust it again!

Frequently there is a neurotic desire to hurt others manifested in people deprived of love. They not only revel in their own misery, but take a delight in making other people responsible for it. 'I've been sitting in an awful draught since *you* left the door open.' 'I couldn't get a decent bath because *you* had used all the hot water.' 'I had a terribly wakeful night because *you* wakened me shutting your door and I could not get off again for hours.' It is the emphasis on the 'you did it' that marks the neurotic desire to hurt. 'I am miserable and I have the right to claim sympathy from you because you made me miserable.' This attitude lies behind the morbid desire to get sympathy or pity or penitent consideration because real love is withdrawn or refused.

In many marriages we see a woman developing this kind of querulous self-martyrdom and we can then assume that love, the real thing, between husband and wife is dead. It may be that they keep together for the sake of the family or convention, but one or both of them becomes neurotic through the deprivation of love.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that sexual immorality is often due to this deprivation of real love. A man fails to find it in his wife. Another woman is hungry for love, and although she may know that she is only loved for her physical charms, even that, plus a 'good time' and some money and food may seem better than nothing and is some kind of substitute for the real thing. Both man and girl may get only a substitute, but if real love is denied and a substitute ready to hand, it is easy to see why such a substitute as illicit gratification is resorted to. Neither party is a monster of wickedness. Both could be made both moral and content if they were truly loved.

3. The patient deprived of love may develop illness. This may either be a psychoneurosis, the symptoms of which are limited—as far as the ordinary observer can ascertain—to abnormal emotional reactions or behaviour-characteristics. But bodily illness may also develop and we may have conversion hysteria³ or some form of psychosomatic illness.

The unconscious motivation is two-fold. First, there is the quest of love which unconsciously is expressed by the illness which the conscious mind dislikes ('I really want to be well'), but which the unconscious—the far more potent part of the mind—desires. Unconsciously the patient is saying: 'Well, you must love me now because I am ill.'

Second, the form the illness takes is determined partly by (a) any constitutional weakness, (b) by a symptom which is a kind of acted parable of the desire of the patient to escape a situation (as in a case I saw the other day in a London 'bus, in which a man with a tic suddenly swung his body and ducked his head as if to avoid a falling bomb), or (c) by a disability which saves at once the 'face' of the patient and a dreaded situation (as in another case where

³ The pain in the mind is 'converted' into a pain of the body for in this form it is easier to bear, but the difference between hysteria and psychosomatic illness is that in the latter there is deterioration or destruction of actual tissue, while in the former, while there is often severe pain, there are no tissue changes.

a patient was terrified he would, in his sleep or in his cups, confess a crime, and who thereupon became dumb).

If one knows beforehand the constitutional weakness of a patient and also the nature and cause of the neurosis, one can almost prophesy the bodily symptom which the unconscious will choose. For instance, if a patient has a constitutional tendency toward dermatitis and a powerful repressed guilt complex, we should expect him to develop some kind of skin affection. A 'stained mind' which a guilty person has, seems readily to become translated into a 'stained body' through skin disease. In saying this, I would add that, of course, it would be grossly unfair and inaccurate to suppose that every patient suffering from skin disease was, for that reason, repressing some guilty secret. The skin is the organ of the body which in a literal sense has to face outward circumstances. It has the maximum contact with the outer-world of all the organs. Those who cannot bear the strain of 'facing life' sometimes develop skin disease.

The deprivation of love is the main causal factor behind many apparently physical illnesses, some simple and some complex.

Here is a simple one that took place the other day in a London office.

Miss A. frequently fell into floods of tears when taking down letters and then one day fainted and was taken home in a car, unable to walk. She went as a voluntary patient to a mental hospital and in a few weeks was completely cured. The analyst said that she had been jilted (=deprived of love). The thought of being unwanted and unloved made her desperate for love and sympathy. In that few knew of her affairs, few gave her sympathy. Then the mechanism began to work: 'If I were ill, I should get sympathy.' This idea was unconscious, but the effect of the unconscious mind on the body is enormous. Quite easily symptoms can be produced which bring sympathy. When analysis brought these unconscious mechanisms to consciousness, the situation was courageously faced and the 'illness' disappeared.

John B. was the 'middle child'. His older brother was 'wanted' by both parents. His sister, seven years younger, though 'an accident', was the pet, almost a kind of mascot, and very attractive and pretty. John's father was a very busy professional man. His mother a popular society woman. John felt unwanted. He could not do anything right.

When I met him, John was twenty-three, tall and good-looking, a good student at the university. When we talked (he had come to discuss joining the Church), John said that whenever he got tired or overwrought, he had such a severe pain in his right arm that he could not write, and to lift his arm to brush his hair was an agony.

He lay on a couch quietly letting his mind run back to childhood. Suddenly, with great emotion, he recalled the following incident which happened when he was a little boy. He had been riding his pony when he was thrown violently to the ground. He hurt his arm and went into the house crying bitterly. His father turned him away with a rough—'Don't be such a cry-baby! Boys don't cry! You should be ashamed of yourself!' He went to his mother, but she was just going out to an afternoon Bridge Party. She 'couldn't be bothered just then'. Poor John went about miserably for the rest of the day. He was really

in very great pain as well as deprived of love, and was miserable in mind and body.

At last his mother came to put him to bed. It was then found that *his arm was broken*. His father was fetched and was more solicitous and kind than John ever remembered before or since. The doctor made a great deal of him. His older brother, who was a god to him, praised his pluck, and even his pretty little sister was given a place back-stage, at least for one act in the drama of the home. John had all the limelight and the centre of the stage. For a few delicious days he was really loved. That sling in which his arm rested was only given up very reluctantly. It was a symbol. He wore it as proudly as a girl wears her engagement ring and for the same reason. It was a symbol that someone loved him. When it was discarded, John slowly relapsed to the earlier place of the unloved and unnoticed boy.

Now, six feet tall and of fine physique, he does sometimes get tired and depressed, and could do with some affection and love. He is exceedingly shy. Little wonder. He doesn't 'get about' much, nor is he fond of the dance-hall or the tennis club. When he is tired and depressed his 'unconscious' whispers to him: 'When you had a pain in your arm, you got love. Try having a pain in your arm!' Pain is an easy thing for the unconscious to arrange. So he has a pain and here and there people sympathize.

But now he has 'seen through' the unconscious mechanism, faced the situation on the conscious levels of the mind. Courage has come to his aid. The underground desire for love at whatever cost of pain, has given way before understanding and the facing of reality. The pain has gone. The bluff has been called.

Recently a man was sent to me from a famous London hospital. A skin affection had proved intractable. A psychological cause was suspected. It was there too. A quarrel between the patient and his wife had gone unbridged for a long period. The wife had withdrawn her love. In her eyes her husband had wronged her. She was adamant and would not forgive him.

The unconscious motivation appeared to me to be as follows: *Unconsciously* the man argued: 'I *have* done wrong. I am a moral leper (the symptom of leprosy is a *skin* affection). I cannot bear longer in my mind the sense of guilt. I will turn it into a stain of body. If she won't forgive me and give me back her love, I will make her pity me because I am ill, and then, perhaps, she will love me again.'

At any rate, in my room, after several interviews, the wife forgave her husband. Prayer together was followed by a most exuberant and joyous reconciliation. In a few days the skin affection vanished. I write this twelve months later, but the skin trouble has never returned.

In his book, *Common Skin Diseases*, one of our greatest authorities writes: 'In cases (of neurodermatitis), due to worry and strain, the effect of X-rays is naturally only temporary, and sedatives, such as phenobarbitone and bromides, with periods of rest and isolation from worries, as far as may be, will be required.'⁴ Having met this writer, I am sure he would agree that to remove the cause of the worry would be better treatment still. One wonders how many illnesses, usually regarded as caused entirely by physical factors, have, if one

⁴ A. C. Roxburgh, p. 313. Eighth Edition. (H. K. Lewis and Co. 1947.)

goes still farther back in the patient's history, or deeper into his mind, the deprivation of love as either the root cause or the precipitating cause.

Everyone is familiar with the expression: 'She died of a broken heart.' It is indubitable that many cases have occurred. The deprivation of love means the loss of security, frequently the loss of self-respect, the feeling of being 'no use' and unwanted. These losses can be fatal. The mind reaches such a state of despair that, although suicide is generally avoided, the mind seizes on a disease or an immolation that can bring death, if death is, indeed, desired by the deep mind. For the latter is more potent even than the instinct of self-preservation.

Kathleen G. was a healthy girl of twenty, engaged as a typist at a garage near a country village. She became engaged to the curate. The date of the wedding was fixed. Kathleen was radiantly happy. Part of her happiness was derived from the thought that she would be no longer an unimportant typist in a menial job, but a lady of the manse and, through her marriage, the social equal of anyone in the neighbourhood. But, alas, the curate broke off the engagement. From that day Kathleen developed a curious habit. She simply could not be persuaded to eat. She would put food into her mouth even, and then empty it into her handkerchief or serviette, and afterwards throw it away. She became pale, thin, hollow-eyed and showed symptoms of anæmia. Her doctor could only say: 'You must make her eat.' Her devoted parents did their utmost, adding tears and threats and entreaties, but all to little purpose. A visit was made to a London specialist, who unfortunately failed to recognize the case as one of 'anorexia nervosa'. The specialist said: 'There is nothing the matter with her if only she will eat.' At last, in desperation, hearing that I had had a similar case, they brought her to me. Her mother showed me earlier photographs of a plump and bonny girl. I could hardly believe they were of the same girl. For Kathleen, aged twenty-three, weighed five stones three pounds, and her body looked like that of an Indian famine victim. Any psychologist would have recognized almost at once the dread 'self-immolation complex' functioning deep in the unconscious. Kathleen said quite simply: 'I know I ought to eat, and I do try to, but all the time I feel there is a strong inward power which is telling me I must not eat.' No words could have been more apt. The 'inward power' was that of a morbid unconscious.⁵

This unconscious, like the conscious, was stricken by the deprivation of love and hit on a terrible revenge against the curate. It argued—unconsciously, it must be repeated—'Don't go back to the garage or to menial work now you have lost "face". Don't accept the humiliation of menial work again. Don't eat! Die of a broken heart. Offer yourself up as a sacrifice on the altar of unrequited love. Then, instead of people smiling as you resume a humble task, instead of losing face, instead of a broken pride and a humiliating situation, people will be sorry for you. By dying you can get sympathy "*in maximo*", see how sorry they are for you now because you already look white and ill. And besides, see what a splendid revenge you will have on the curate, how successfully you will ruin the happiness he is finding in your successor, and furthermore, what a revenge you will have on your doctor, who told you bluntly not to be a little fool because there was nothing the matter with you.'

⁵ I have quoted this case from my book *Psychology and Life*, p. 84. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

Cases like this of 'anorexia nervosa' have been known to lead to death.* In the one quoted above, I am convinced that Kathleen was cured by psychological analysis⁷ and subsequent religious synthesis. *First*, admittedly, a psychological technique had to be followed and causative factors in the neurosis brought from the unconscious to the conscious level. But, thereafter, it was through her splendid religious faith that she became integrated.

Her mind began to run along the following lines. 'Anyway God loves me, cares for me, and has *some* purpose in my life. If B (the curate) is like that, it's a good job I found out before I married him. I'm not going to throw my life away because a man like that jilts me. I will hold my head up. I've done nothing of which I need feel ashamed. I'll live a day at a time and show that my faith is not just a fair-weather, flimsy thing, but that it sustains me.'

She did this and entirely recovered. It gives me joy to add that she afterwards married a Methodist minister known to me, and has proved herself, during the last twelve years, his most able and valued helpmeet.

Is religion necessary to the cure of cases of neurotic illness caused through the deprivation of love? The answer must be 'No'!

The first stage of treatment must be analytical. So long as factors causing neurosis function in the unconscious, religion, as generally understood,⁸ is not the greatest help that can be given. A religious conversion might avail, but a religious conversion, attended by emotional abreaction and catharsis, cannot be engineered.

It certainly cannot be claimed that in religion alone is cure to be found, for if, for example, during treatment the patient fell deeply in love, it might well be that all treatment would be brought to a triumphant conclusion.

Further, many medical psychologists who scorn religion, have cured patients suffering from neuroses caused by the deprivation of love.

When this has been said, however, I would go on to add that the Christian religion, properly applied, in the broadest sense and freed from sectarian bias, can, when analysis has been done, most powerfully aid the subsequent process of integration.

It is not enough to explain to the patient: 'You are suffering because,' say, 'in childhood you were not truly loved. During analysis you have become conscious that, because your mother did not really love you, you hated her. You repressed both your hatred and aggression against her and your own resentment. Now you have recognized these factors, you must find your release in the realization that you are loved by God.'

This will not do because the love of God, at that stage, is an idea and not an experience. If it is an idea emotionally realized, that is better. But love, even the love of God, is only mediated through *persons*.

In an ideal church there exists a central group of people, with a warm experience of God in their own hearts and a capacity and willingness to receive

* *ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

⁷ I am not using the term here to indicate the purely Freudian technique.

⁸ Of course, if a person of Christ's dynamic spiritual energy and power were operating, an entirely different conclusion might be reached. An attack on any kind of disease, physical or mental, made by a Divine Spirit through a human spirit which believed on Him, might well be regarded as the maximum help conceivable.

a person into such a real fellowship that the love of God is mediated through loving persons to the patient.

It has become the practice of some of the medical psychotherapists who help me at the City Temple, to introduce suitable patients to our Fellowship Groups. This is not done from the religious motive only, but from the psychotherapeutic motive. And again and again I have watched cases of neurosis, getting, on the one hand, sound treatment, and on the other, love through fellowship, breaking out of the prison of their morbid introspection and fears, and finding new life, new joy, and new peace. Group-therapy is meeting with success under various conditions. I am sure that a group, meeting for Christian fellowship, discussion, and prayer, has a very high therapeutic value.

Surely, here is a point at which parson and psychotherapist can co-operate. Surely, here also is the kind of thing every Church should exist to do. I know the Church is criticized because 'old maids' attend in large numbers. But is there any disgrace in this? I shall not here discuss whether religion is itself a neurosis. True Christianity, I hold, is not. But even if it were, even if the fellowship of the Church were the exchange of one neurosis for another, I should not feel disturbed. For it is at least an improvement to make such a change. It breaks the loneliness of many lives and it offers a love-substitute which is more satisfactory than most.

If Christianity is truly grasped, the Christian experience is certainly not neurotic. The Christian experience throughout the world has, more than any other factor, brought joy to the world. All admit what a grand place the world would be if everyone in it had a real Christian experience and practised Christ's way of life. Yet neurosis is disease. If Christianity is essentially neurotic we reach the *argumentum ad absurdum* that disease is the means by which the true health and happiness of the world can best be established.

At its best, the Christian fellowship of loving people mediates the love of God through persons, calls for self-sacrificing service to the needy for love's sake and in co-operation with other lovers of our Lord. It is better than keeping a lap-dog, or developing a whining self-pity, or a hostile, cynical reaction-character-trait, or an illness designed to attract sympathy.

I have known cases in which the cause of illness was traced to the fact that the patient was a misfit in society. One patient became terrified of going into any company at all. She was cured by the revelation of this fact to her own instructed insight, plus her introduction to a society abounding in love. There is such a thing as the cure of psychogenic illness through the loving community.

Short of happy marriage—which itself can be ruined if love ONLY runs out to the beloved—there is no more integrating factor in personality, more powerful or more socially valuable, than a sense of the love of God, flowing into our hearts, both directly from Him and through His other lovers in the fellowship of the Church, and then out to the starved lives of others whom we come to love for His sake and whom we seek to serve in His name.

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD

RECOLLECTIONS AND IMPRESSIONS OF ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

READERS OF *The London Quarterly*, I feel sure, will have already read the Dean of Lichfield's life of the late William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Divine Providence, and Primate of All England. If I am mistaken (which may well be possible) and they have not done so, then I cannot be mistaken when I assume that they are going to read it, or, at the very least, are thinking of reading it. Reading the lives of Archbishops and Conference Presidents and such ecclesiastical V.I.P's. is a duty, and Methodists, from my knowledge of them, are generally doers of duty, as well as believers in it. But the perusal of F. A. Iremonger's *Life of William Temple* will be a pleasure as well as a duty. So many biographers alas! have a fatal genius of robbing their subject of interest and fascination, that they reduce the most exciting of lives to deadly boredom. Dr. Iremonger is happily not one of that lamentable breed. He is a writer of exceptional descriptive power, and his biography of Temple is almost everything that the reader can expect—from the point of view of readability. I can promise intending readers an experience of real pleasure, and to ministerial wives an experience of annoyance. Many a lunch or dinner, scrupulously cooked, will go cold and unappetizing through the absorption of ministerial husbands in the fascinating narrative of the life and work of William Temple. I trust, however, that the said husbands have adequately trained their good ladies, as I have trained mine. In my establishment, a spoilt dinner is now no more than a minor affliction. Perhaps it may stimulate readers if I offer some personal reminiscences and afterthoughts of Temple.

I first met Temple, by appointment, at Lambeth Palace in September 1940. I had looked forward to the meeting with more than a little trepidation. At that time, the episcopal level of humanity towered far above my experience. Bishops, and still more Archbishops, seemed to my unfamiliar eyes as Alpine peaks look to the wondering gaze of the plainsman. But my trepidation had been unnecessary. To begin with, Temple was dressed in mufti, the only time I saw him so garbed. It somehow or other heightened the kindliness of his glance, and, before I realized it, I felt at ease with him and was talking fifty to the dozen. He had just read *On To Orthodoxy*, and was most generous in his appreciation of it. That, naturally, dissipated any lingering sense of inhibition in me.

I came away from Lambeth on that occasion feeling what charming people Bishops seemed to be, an impression which increasing experience has greatly strengthened. Temple was human in the best sense of that elastic word. He had that rare quality of making you feel that he was sharing your experience. That is why he made people feel at ease. He made contact with men in what they felt was fundamental to them. I heard him once retail an experience which illustrates this. On one occasion, when he was to travel by the night train from King's Cross to York, he went to a coffee-stall to drink a cup of tea before catching his train. He was in mufti. Temple was telling this experience in answer to somebody who was at a loss how an Archbishop should be addressed. A voluble customer at the coffee-stall was loudly delivering final judgements on

every subject under the sun and then turned to one individual after another for confirmation. The Archbishop was listening with amused interest, when the omniscient one suddenly turned to him and said: 'Isn't that so, Old Cock?' And with a twinkle in his eyes, the Archbishop commented: 'There are various ways of addressing an Archbishop.' I never met anyone whose essential humanity was less restricted by formalities of status and office than William Temple. I'm sure his reaction at the coffee-stall would be to make the phrase 'Old Cock' seem right and natural in that setting. Personally, I never found it anything but perfectly natural to address him as 'Your Grace'. It proves, at least, that exterior rank is not necessarily a barrier to genuine human communication.

Between the end of 1940 and March 1941 I had a good deal of communication with Temple either by correspondence or conversation. He invited me to write the third volume for his Archbishop of York's Lenten Series—an invitation, by the way, I hesitated to accept. The first volume in that series was *The Two Moralities* by the Master of Balliol, A. D. Lindsay, as he then was. The second, *Citizen And Churchman*, was by Temple himself. Whilst I was immensely exalted by the idea of following in such a succession, I was reluctant at first. I was overawed by the situation. But Temple was most kind and encouraging. After I had completed the MS. and sent him a proof copy—he had to write the preface to it—I can still recall the thrill I felt when he wrote to me about it. In his letter to me he said: 'I read the MS. with great interest and some parts of it with excitement.' I was nearly bursting my blood-vessels to know which were the parts that had excited him. But I shied away from the idea of writing to him about it, so I never got to know. Though I had come to feel unrestrained in my relation to the Archbishop, there was something in his attitude which silently discouraged any hint of vanity. But I know that he was truly delighted with the success of my book (*Secular Illusion And Christian Realism*). I happened to meet him when *The Times Literary Supplement* gave it a long review, which pleased him very much.

The memories of Temple which I treasure most are of the weeks I spent in Retreat in preparation for ordination, one week at Bishopthorpe prior to my Ordination as Deacon in York Minster in Lent 1941, and the other at St. John's College, York, before my Ordination as Priest, also in York Minster, on Trinity Sunday, 1941. It is the custom for the Bishop to spend a week with his Ordination candidates in Retreat before the Ordination. And an excellent custom it is, especially when the Bishop happens to be a man of the calibre of William Temple. Some men find the discipline trying. There is a story told of a group of ordinands in a northern diocese, who found the no-smoking rule a bit of a trial, as I can well, very well, understand. Toward the end of the week they were approaching the end of their endurance. So on the last day, whilst they were awaiting their turn for the private interview with the Bishop, they crouched together on their knees in front of the fireplace, which was Tudor in its size, and lit their pipes and cigarettes, and puffed the smoke up the chimney. Suddenly there was a knock at the door. After a swift and panicky attempt to hide their pipes, they turned around only to see a head disappearing from view. They were in a fearful state. They felt well and truly rattled. *Now* what would happen? In a few moments, there was another

knock at the door, and the Bishop, all benign, appeared and said to them: 'Gentlemen, I must apologize for disturbing you just now *at your devotions!*' What a wise Bishop!

I cannot remember whether the no-smoking rule at Bishopthorpe was absolute. I remember, however, the silence rule. It was a rigid rule that silence had to be maintained between supper and lunch the following day. I found that the rule was a severe trial. I know a few Methodists who would also find it trying! Temple used to temper the wind to us shorn lambs by reading aloud to us at the breakfast table. I have wondered since whether he was not animated sometimes by a sense of mild mischief, because some of the things he read unavoidably evoked vocal laughter. Was the laughter a violation of the rule? A nice problem for the casuist. Temple seemed to relish the laughter of his neophytes, even if it did constitute a transgression of rule.

Among the high-lights of the week were Temple's midday devotional addresses to the ordinands. Gathered together in the chapel—only eight of us—Temple would address us quietly. I found it a moving experience. But the experience (of that kind) which stands out in my mind was the Ordination Charge which Temple preached to the candidates on the Saturday night preceding the day of Ordination in Lent, 1941. It was in Bishopthorpe. There were just the eight of us. And to that handful of men, Temple preached the greatest sermon I ever heard. After saying the Office of Compline (which is one of the most beautiful services of all), he sat down and, without a single movement, in an even, subdued voice, he spoke for about half-an-hour on the three temptations of our Lord. The effect of it on my mind *and my heart* was profoundly moving. Temple displayed nothing of the histrionic art. It was all very quiet, like a deep, deep river in flow. In that sermon were concentrated conviction, passion, and clarity. I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it was the greatest preaching I was ever privileged to hear. Apart, however, from its spiritual elevation, it was an amazing *tour-de-force*. In the course of the sermon, Temple repeated, without a single note, nearly a half of Dostoevsky's legend of The Grand Inquisitor, word for word. An incredible feat of memory. It so happened that, at the time, I had been re-reading *The Brothers Karamazov* and so was familiar with the legend. Out came that wonderful story from Temple's lips without a single hesitation or momentary faltering.

At his best, Temple was, in my judgement, a really great preacher: indeed, the best of his day. But he was quite often not at his best, when he could be ordinary. He was essentially Anglican in the pulpit. The strength of Anglican preaching is also its weakness. It excels in the quality of teaching. At its best, Anglican preaching is teaching, doctrinal, systematic, powerful presentation of theological ideas. In this respect, Free Church preaching cannot compare with it, in my opinion. But this also is the severest limitation of the Anglican pulpit, at least since the Tractarian Movement. That Movement made a tremendous contribution to the spiritual life of the Church of England, which it quickened and galvanized into a new and dynamic reality. But it has left a bad legacy in its effect on preaching. In the course of its development, it underestimated the place and power of preaching. For a long time, it reduced preaching to 'ten minutes' pulpit chatting'. This was Temple's own phrase.

Anglican preaching which, at its best, displays great doctrinal power, seems

to me to lack the kerugmatic element, in which the Free Church tradition is so rich. Anglican preaching is rarely prophetic. What made Temple's Ordination Charge so great was precisely its prophetic quality. It was a supreme prophetic utterance. But I never heard him reach the same elevation afterwards. In the prophetic sense, Temple, I think, was more of a platform man than a pulpit man. I do not think I am doing him any injustice when I say that he tended, in the pulpit, to become a man of the platform, and on the platform to become somewhat a man of the pulpit. I shall always remember his speech at the Bristol Religion and Life meetings. It revealed that prophetic quality, so much so that the audience quickly refrained from applause. That is a good test. The more prophetic a speaker tends to be, the less will an audience feel like applauding. Meetings don't clap at the prophetic word. It is clap-trap which generally elicits clapping. Can anyone imagine Isaiah or, better still, Jeremiah, being greeted with 'loud applause'? I cannot imagine *The Daily Thunder* in Jerusalem reporting that 'in a crowded meeting last night Mr. Jeremiah's speech was greeted with prolonged applause'.

Temple was acutely conscious of the inadequacy (to put it mildly) of contemporary Anglican preaching. On one occasion late in 1941, he was preaching in St. John's, Newlands, Hull, where I was serving as a curate at the time—my one and only curacy. He preached for about twenty-five or thirty minutes. As I helped him to unrobe after the service, he remarked that he had preached rather a long time. I energetically disagreed with him. I told him that I couldn't help feeling that the Anglican lust for brevity was killing the very possibility of great preaching. 'Brevity', I said, quoting Forsyth, 'may be the soul of wit, but the preacher is not a wit.' He warmly agreed. It was then that he said that so much preaching had degenerated into pulpit chatting. I then related to him an experience of my own, which I will tell here.

My first vicar was a little anxious, at first, lest I might preach too long, with my Free Church training. He impressed upon me that he had accustomed his congregations (which were large) to fifteen-minute sermons. I didn't say anything, but I silently registered a determination that I would resist to the death the tyranny of the short sermon. So I started with thirty-minute sermons, and continued. After this had been going on for some time, my vicar (who had suffered my long sermons in silence) said to me one day: 'I've heard a great joke against you. I was visiting Mr. X today in Y Avenue. He told me that last Sunday morning, his wife wanted to know who was preaching at Matins, the vicar or the curate. When I told her that Mr. Davies was the preacher that morning, she said that in that case it would be safer to put the joint in the oven *half an hour later*. Ha! Ha!' 'But, vicar,' I said, 'the joke is on you. She did not say: "In that case I won't go to Church." It proves that you can train a congregation to listen for half an hour.' Temple enjoyed the joke, and said: 'I'm sure a man can train his people to listen for as long as he has something to say!' Temple's sense of humour never obscured the realities of a situation.

The last time I saw the Archbishop was at Canterbury on a lovely September day in 1943. I happened to be preaching in London and he asked me down to see him. It was then that he offered me the living of the parish of Emmanuel, West Dulwich. We had tea in the palace grounds. It was a wonderful setting against the background of the Cathedral. I think Temple felt profoundly

happy in Canterbury. I can still recall the quiet zest with which he showed me round a part of the palace. He gave one the feeling somehow that he 'belonged' there. But the most significant recollection of that meeting was a conversation that we had about theology in general and P. T. Forsyth in particular.

It began with my remark that I imagined that his mind did not take easily to Forsyth. He thought it was interesting that I should say that, because, in fact, he had found Forsyth really difficult to read. Forsyth, continued Temple, was against the whole grain of his own training and predilections. 'Fundamentally I am a man of philosophy.' I remember that phrase very clearly. His mind had been moulded, he said, by Platonism. Forsyth contrasted violently with Plato in every respect, and for a long time he had found it difficult to understand what Forsyth was saying, not because of any stylistic obscurities, but owing to fundamental divergence of attitude between Forsyth's mind and his own.

It is here, I feel, that one touches upon Temple's most serious limitation, namely, that he viewed a situation of crisis with a theology in which remnants of his earlier modernism were still active. There can be no serious denial of the fact that Temple began as a fairly thorough-going modernist in theology. The Temple that contributed to *Foundations* had an essentially Pelagian view of human nature. In his work for the Workers' Educational Association; in his activity for The National Mission of Hope and Repentance; and in his work for the Life and Liberty Movement, it cannot be justly contested that he gravely underestimated the depth of sin in human nature. This is proved by the fact that the longer he lived, the more thoroughly he departed from his earlier theological attitude. Toward the end of his life, Temple had approximated very closely to what it is now the fashion to call 'crisis-theology', not, of course, in its Barthian form—Temple never was or would be Barthian—but, shall I say, in its Berdyaev expression. Berdyaev influenced him very considerably. But he had not succeeded in integrating much of his social theory with the change in his theology. It still carried much—too much—humanist implication. I am convinced that had he been granted another five years of life, his transition from a theology essentially modernist to a theology entirely Biblical would have been complete, when he might very well have emerged as one of the supreme theologians of our age. There lies the severe loss to the Church. By his untimely death, the whole Catholic Church of Christ has lost a great creative theologian. Other men will lead movements, even the Ecumenical Movement. But I can descry nobody in the contemporary scene who can do for theology what, I believe, Temple would have done in his final phase.

God's ways are altogether beyond the powers of mortal man to scan, leave alone to fathom. The Church enjoyed God's gift in William Temple for a brief tale of years. Let us cherish his memory and follow his great example.

D. R. DAVIES

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND EARLY METHODISM

THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, Rector of Epworth, maintained that 'Quakerism is a compendium of all heresies', expounding his views in the *Athenian Mercury*, for which he was the anonymous theological correspondent, the challenge being taken up by William Penn himself—again anonymously.¹ Small wonder that the Wesley children were prejudiced against the Friends,² and that one of the features of John Wesley's missionary voyage to Georgia in 1735 was the baptizing of the four members of the Hird family of Friends on board the *Simmonds*, 'after frequent and careful instruction'.³ Yet that prejudice was overcome, and in two later contacts with Friends before his 'evangelical conversion' Wesley emphasized in the one case the points of doctrine which divided them, and in the other the devoutness of spirit which made them one.⁴ This foreshadowed the rather mixed relationships which prevailed between the Methodists and the Friends during the remainder of Wesley's life.

A NEW BRAND OF QUAKERS

The Methodism of the Holy Club was stigmatized by the Rev. Samuel Wesley, junior, as being almost as bad as Quakerism,⁵ and when in 1739 the younger Wesley brothers and George Whitefield burst the conventional bonds of cold eighteenth-century formalism by preaching in market-place and field the unsearchable riches of Christ, a chorus of voices echoed that the Methodists were a new brand of Quakers.⁶ Anything savouring of 'enthusiasm', the belief

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

- CW7: *Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, 2 vols. (1849).
 JFHS: *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (1903-46).
 JW7: *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard ed., 8 vols.
 JWL: *Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard ed., 8 vols.
 JWW: *Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, 3rd ed., 14 vols. (ed. T. Jackson).
 Jones: Rufus M. Jones: *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 2 vols.
 Smith: Joseph Smith: *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 2 vols. (1867) and *Supplement* (1893).
 Whitefd: Luke Tyerman: *Life of the Rev. George Whitefield*, 2 vols.
 WHS: *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (1898-1948).
 WV: *Wesley's Veterans*, 7 vols. (ed. John Telford).

This essay was awarded First Prize, Dr. George Eayrs' Wesley Prize Fund, May 1948.

¹ Tyerman's *Samuel Wesley*, 183-4; Smith, I. 51-2.

² As a student at Oxford John Wesley compiled a book of anecdotes, including a handful about Quakers, not altogether unfriendly in tone, although one story in particular hints that they were more noteworthy for sharp wits than for simple honesty (MS. notebook preserved at Wesley's House, pp. 57-9). In 1733 John strongly urged his elder sister Emilia to throw over the Quaker doctor who was courting her (Stevenson's *Wesley Family*, 268-70). Emilia herself in 1740 criticized Methodism's emphasis on 'the Quakerly fancies of absolute perfection, &c.' (MS. letter to John, Colman Collection 24).

³ JW7, I.117; cf. I.224n.

⁴ *ibid.*, 445, 447.

⁵ A Clarke's *Wesley Family*, II.195-8.

⁶ The Rev. Tristram Land held that Whitefield could not 'be exceeded by the warmest-headed Quaker in the kingdom', while Dr. Henry Stebbing described him as 'a Quaker already in the first and leading principle of that sect' (*Whitefd.*, I.286). Dr. Zachary Grey amused himself by comparing Whitefield's *Journal* with that of George Fox, and Horace Walpole's chaplain, the Rev. James Bate, issued a booklet intended to bring down two birds with one stone—*Quakero-Methodism: or, a Confutation of the first principles of the Quakers and Methodists* (R. Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, nos. 110, 42). There was the same confusion in the American colonies, where in 1740 the followers of Whitefield were dubbed the 'New Lights' because of their affinities with the original exponents of the 'Inner Light' (*Whitefd.*, II.124).

that God could make personal contact with human beings, was abomination to a race of deistic clergy.⁷ And this was the fundamental basis of each Society,⁸ an emphasis upon the possibility and supreme importance of an immediate personal experience of God's saving and guiding power, a harking back to what was a favourite term with them both, 'primitive Christianity'. The typical literary product was therefore in each case the diary or journal (rivalled by hymns as far as Methodism was concerned), and both Societies were liable to glorify death-bed scenes.⁹ Doctrinally also there was some affinity, especially in their teaching on Christian perfection, though the early Quakers placed less emphasis upon correct belief, and parted company over the question of the Sacraments, which Wesley described as 'a great gulf fixed' between them.¹⁰ In outward conduct there were likenesses, both Friends and Methodists inculcating the need for plainness both in speech, dress, and general behaviour.¹¹ Perhaps there was some excuse for the writer in the *London Magazine* who in 1760 challenged Wesley: 'Are you not a Quaker in disguise?'¹²

The Methodists, however, were in the first flush of vital religion, while the Quakers had reached the later stages of spiritual growth, in which many were simply bent on preserving a fossilized faith, though others were beginning to adventure into the realms of speculative theology, or to lose themselves in the thin air of mysticism.¹³ Divisive tendencies were present in Methodism also, and both Societies were only in the experimental stage as far as organization was concerned. It is therefore very difficult to form a clear picture of the complex interweavings of the situation, with its varied strands of agreement and disagreement, co-operation and rivalry, propaganda and counter-propaganda. For a long time there was no clear-cut official policy, matters being left largely to local initiative. Speaking generally, however, Methodists were ready to co-operate with devout Friends, to proselytize among those who had succumbed to the mere preservation of Quaker forms and customs, and occasionally to come under the sway of the Quaker emphasis upon the supreme importance of the inner life of the soul. Friends, on the other hand, if spiritually minded, usually welcomed the Methodists, and co-operated with them to a

⁷ William Seward, the first Methodist martyr, was impelled to defend himself as he told his clergyman brother of his conversion: 'You may call this *Quakerism*, or what you please; but I know it is the faith which Christ and His apostles preached' (*Copy of a Letter from Mr. William Seward*, 1739; cf. *Whitefld.*, I.251).

⁸ Each was a 'Society', each accepting under protest a derisive title by referring to themselves as 'the people called Quakers', or 'the people called Methodists'.

⁹ The 1748 Conference instructed preachers to submit 'a circumstantial account . . . of everyone who dies in the triumph of faith' (*WHS. Publication*, I.58). It is just possible that some Quaker influence was at work here, for the Quaker collections of death-bed testimonies under the general title of *Piety Promoted* were widely known. (See Smith, II.418-22, and *JFHS.*, XXXVIII.13). It was in August 1748 that Charles Wesley recorded that at Cork he 'drank tea with some well-disposed Quakers, and borrowed a volume of their dying sayings: a standing testimony that the life and power of God was with them at the beginning; as it might again, were they humble enough to confess their want' (*CWJ.*, II.21).

¹⁰ Joseph Nightingale's *Portraiture of Methodism* (1807), p. 383, pointed out the similarities in Quaker and Methodist ideas about Christian perfection. For the Sacraments, see *JWL.*, II.75.

¹¹ John Nelson was in 1740 mistaken for either a Baptist or a Quaker because of his habit of reproving people (*WV.*, III.28). It is instructive to compare the Methodist *Rules* with the *Queries and Advices* of the Friends, and the *Large Minutes* with the Quaker *Discipline*. Dr. John Rutt's *An Essay towards a Contrast between Quakerism and Methodism* (1771) does this in some detail, using parallel columns. See also Jones, 134-9, 141-5.

¹² *JWL.*, IV.122-3.

¹³ Quakers themselves, such as Samuel Neale, lamented their 'degeneracy from the true begotten zeal'. See Jones, 2.

greater or lesser degree, often coming fully over to the evangelical position through a sound Methodist conversion, followed by baptism. Those who placed their main emphasis upon the peculiarities of Quaker teaching, however, found themselves in strong opposition to the churchmanship of the Methodists, and sometimes a temporary attraction on spiritual grounds was followed by a revulsion on points of doctrine, or because of Methodism's more vigorous stress on moral discipline. At the outset of the Methodist revival the points at issue seem to have been mainly those of discipline and doctrine; in the later years tension was usually over the evangelical as opposed to the mystical approach to life. These variable relationships cannot be squeezed into a formula, however, and room must always be left for exceptions.

QUAKER CO-OPERATION

Time and time again in the early days it was a Friend who protected the mobbed Methodist preacher, who lent his field for services, or who gave generous help toward building a 'preaching-house'. Although due in part to the humanitarian sympathies which were to become so characteristic of the Friends, fellow-feeling was another reason, and the bold forsaking of the churches for field-preaching must have seemed like a revival of George Fox's testimony against 'steeple houses'.

The first stages of the revival can be studied most clearly at Bristol, an important stronghold of both communities. Here it was that Methodist field-preaching commenced.¹⁴ When on 2nd April 1739 John Wesley 'consented to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation', he found himself almost immediately caught up into a whirl of Quaker influence. His audience at Hanham Mount on the 5th included several Friends, easily recognizable by their dress. On the 6th he read a *History of the Quakers*—probably that by William Sewel. On the 16th he baptized a Quaker gentlewoman, Lucretia Smith, the following day receiving her with others into membership, she being chosen by lot the leader of a newly-formed women's 'band'.¹⁵ On the 18th, possibly introduced by Lucretia Smith, Wesley met Anthony Purver, 'a Quaker, one of much experience in the ways of God'.¹⁶ After several private conversations with Purver Wesley joined in a full conference with six Friends on 5th May, being himself supported by five other Methodists. He reported: 'We prayed together, and our hearts were much enlarged toward one another.'¹⁷ The first anniversary of his personal experience of saving faith, 24th May 1739, was similarly spent, in the home of a prominent Bristol Friend, Richard Champion, where with eight or nine other Friends he held 'a mild conference on justification by faith, concluded with prayer'.¹⁸ On 1st June he made apparently his first contact with another

¹⁴ In this Whitefield and the Wesleys had had a predecessor, William Morgan, a brother clergyman who later became a Friend. See *WHS.*, VI.102, 124-8.

¹⁵ It was also on 17th April that Whitefield baptized at Gloucester another influential Bristol Friend, Thomas Whitehead. (*Whitefld.*, I.199.)

¹⁶ Purver was a man of about Wesley's own age, later to become famous as the translator of the 'Quakers' Bible'—a work which Wesley found 'flat and dead'. See *JWJ.*, III.197; *JFHS.*, XXIV.31-5; Smith, II.437-8.

¹⁷ *JWL.*, I.307; cf. *JWJ.*, II.192 (diary).

¹⁸ *JWL.*, I.316-7.

Bristol Quaker family, the Farleys, young Felix becoming one of his active supporters, as well as his most prolific printer.¹⁹

It was usually the same elsewhere. At Bath on 8th May 1739 a prominent Friend, Richard Marchant, offered Wesley a field for preaching, calling him aside afterwards to say: 'My friend, deal freely with me. I have much money, and it may be that thou hast little. Tell me what thou wilt have.' Upon which Wesley 'accepted his love'! It was probably on Marchant's field (where later the Circus was built) that Wesley had his famous encounter with Beau Nash, a bevy of fashionable ladies twittering after the preacher into Marchant's house. Meantime Whitefield and Charles Wesley were meeting with a similar reception in the London area. On 14th May Whitefield 'spent the evening very agreeably with several Quakers'; on the 16th he arranged for a Friend to be baptized, and also 'dined with some serious Quakers'; on the 19th he dined with another Friend at Clapham.²⁰ Charles Wesley wrote on 31st May:

A Quaker sent me a pressing invitation to preach at Thackstead [Thaxted]. I scrupled preaching in another's parish, till I had been refused the church. Many Quakers, and near seven hundred others, attended.²¹

On 4th June he accompanied a young Quaker candidate for baptism to Islington, and in August told Whitefield about Thomas Keen of Marylebone, 'an old spiritual Quaker, who is clear in justification by faith only', who provided both hospitality and support for the Methodists.²²

When eventually Methodism came to penetrate farther afield the same kind of thing happened. The welcome in Devon and Cornwall was marked. In September 1743 members of the Quaker colony which had migrated from Exeter to Sticklepath stopped John Wesley as he was riding through the village and prevailed on him to stay with them. Shortly afterwards John Nelson gained a Quaker convert there, lodging with a Quakeress, and holding a Methodist cottage-meeting (complete with hymns) in her home. Charles Wesley also warmed to these Sticklepath Friends, finding his heart 'drawn out toward them in prayer and love'.²³ It was a Cornish Friend whose rebuke to a literary opponent of Methodism provided Wesley with an anecdote which he was fond of repeating: 'What! art thou not content with laying John Wesley on his back, but thou must tread his guts out too!'²⁴ Richard Rodda also, as a young Methodist in the hands of the press-gang, was rescued by a Cornish Quaker.²⁵

A similar pattern was followed in other parts of the country. Soon after

¹⁹ cf. R. Green's *Wesley Bibliography*; Smith, I, 584; *JFHS.*, XXVIII.56; etc. Farley's conversion apparently heightened the tension between him and his elder brother Samuel, who remained a strict Quaker, although Felix also retained close contacts with Bristol Friends, his wife and daughter being members of their Society. Another Bristol family similarly divided was that of the Dyers, William being a sympathizer with the Methodists, Samuel, a Friend, both of them keeping journals which have been preserved. (See *JFHS.*, XXVIII.56-7; *WHS.*, XVIII.120-9.)

²⁰ Strangely enough William Pine, the well-known Bristol Methodist who succeeded to Farley's position as Wesley's printer when Farley died, was also linked up with the Friends, being a partner of the versatile Dr. Joseph Fry, and associated also with the famous Quaker potter of Bristol, Richard Champion.

²¹ Another well-known Friend with whom Wesley conferred at Bristol this year was Isaac Sharpless (*JWJ.*, II.242).

²² *Whitefd.*, I.215-16.

²³ *CWJ.*, I.151.

²⁴ *ibid.*, I.151, 158-9, 235, 392; cf. *Whitefd.*, I.556, and *JWJ.* Index, 'Keen'.

²⁵ *JWJ.*, III.94; *WV.*, III.82-3; *CWJ.*, I.369. ²⁶ *JWL.*, IV.39, 190, VIII.149. ²⁷ *WV.*, IV.199.

Wesley had begun to build his famous Orphan House at Newcastle in 1743 he received a letter from a wealthy Friend:

FRIEND WESLEY,

I have had a dream concerning thee. I thought I saw thee surrounded with a large flock of sheep, which thou didst not know what to do with. My first thought after I awoke was, that it was thy flock at Newcastle, and that thou hadst no house of worship for them. I have enclosed a note for one hundred pounds, which may help thee to provide a house.²⁶

In the same year anti-Methodist persecution at Evesham was largely staved off by a Friend, while at Nottingham the following year it was a Friend who protected Charles Wesley and John Webb—the latter himself later a convert to Quakerism.²⁷ A preacher mobbed at Dudley in 1744 was rescued by 'an honest Quaker, who helped him to escape, disguised with his broad hat and coat'.²⁸ In 1744 also George Whitefield wrote from Plymouth: "I have been preaching a confirmation sermon. Do you ask me where? In a Quaker's field."²⁹

CO-OPERATION TURNS TO RIVALRY

Although at first greeted by the Friends as brethren, however, the Methodist preachers in many cases found their welcome short-lived, the changed attitude being dictated by a variety of motives. Opposition came chiefly from those Friends whose religion had become a matter of outward observance only, rather than a living experience. Wesley related vividly the case of one, who viewed the emotional outbursts of the Bristol converts in 1739 with abhorrence:

A Quaker who stood by was very angry at them, and was biting his lips and knitting his brows, when the Spirit of God came upon him also, so that he fell down as one dead. We prayed over him, and he soon lifted up his head with joy and joined with us in thanksgiving.³⁰

One Bristol Quaker, whose wife had joined the Methodists, created disturbances at their meetings, sometimes coming primed with drink for that purpose—though in this he can hardly be regarded as a typical Friend.³¹ More insidious trouble-makers were at work, also, though a young Quaker speaker, Joseph Chandler, wisely decided to see Wesley for himself before accepting their fabricated story about Wesley's public challenge to him.³² At Bath Richard Marchant decided upon prudential considerations that he could no longer loan his field to the Methodists, supposedly because of the damage done, though Wesley knew that the main reason was summed up in his words: 'I have already, by letting thee be there, merited the displeasure of my neighbours.'³³ On the other hand Anthony Purver sincerely held that Wesley's

²⁶ Moore's *Wesley*, I.550.

²⁷ *CWJ.*, I.307, 348-9.

²⁸ *ibid.*, I.345.

²⁹ *Whitefd.*, II.103. ³⁰ *JWL.*, I.305.

³¹ i.e. Benjamin Rutter. See *CWJ.*, I.166, 177; cf. *JWJ.*, II.233, 246d., 292d., III.29.

³² *JWJ.*, II. 338-9.

³³ *ibid.*, 244. cf. Wesley's first visit to Port Isaac in 1747, where he was to lodge with Friend Richard Scantlebury, 'an hoary venerable old man'. When the preacher appeared with a mob at his heels, saying, 'My name is John Wesley', Scantlebury replied, 'I have heard of thee', and shut the door on him (*ibid.*, III.309, V.283).

views on the use of money were too strict, he himself 'being persuaded there was no harm in costly apparel, provided it was plain and grave'. Later he excused himself from coming to the preaching services on the grounds that

he found we were not led by the Spirit; for we fixed times of preaching beforehand; whereas we ought to do nothing unless we were sensibly moved thereto by the Holy Ghost.³⁴

John Nelson similarly had to face criticism in Yorkshire because he used 'carnal ordinances', whereas only the Friends were supposed to hold truly spiritual worship. When asked his opinion of George Fox and William Penn, however, he managed to turn the tables, by saying:

I think well of them; but their graces will profit you nothing, except the same change be wrought in your hearts as was in them.³⁵

Methodist proselytizing continued apace. The new spiritual fire which the preachers brought provided something sadly missing among the Friends in many areas, especially where silent meetings were the rule. Both the Wesley brothers and George Whitefield were frequently called on to baptize converted Quakers, in many cases with important spiritual after-effects. Thus in 1743, after baptizing four children at Tytherton, in Wiltshire, Whitefield wrote:

The ordinance was so solemn and awful, that Mrs. Gotley (who is a Quaker) had a mind immediately to partake of it. When I go to Wiltshire [again] I believe I shall baptize her and her children, with some adult persons who have tasted of redeeming love.³⁶

At Osmotherley in 1745, a few minutes after asking Wesley, 'Dost thou think water baptism an ordinance of Christ?', an elderly Quakeress was convinced, and baptized then and there.³⁷ Often a Quaker baptism was not the immediate result of an emotional upheaval, however, but of a long mental struggle. Elizabeth Cart of London, for instance, came under the influence of Whitefield's preaching on Kennington Common in the very early days of the revival, and attended the Foundery from its opening; she read Methodist publications, comparing them with the Bible and Barclay's *Apology*—and also with the personal lives of 'friend Wesleys'; after great mental turmoil she heard a voice saying, 'God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven thee!'; but not until 1748 was she baptized in the river at Cowley by Charles Wesley.³⁸

The Friends also gained their converts. The influence of their silent meetings is probably to be seen in a London love-feast described by Wesley in 1742.³⁹ A good many Methodists were won over by the arguments of Robert Barclay's

³⁴ *JWJ.*, II.221, 238.

³⁵ *WV.*, III.95.

³⁶ *Whitefld.*, II.77.

³⁷ *JWJ.*, III.171. She appears to have been one of the ancestors of the Rev. Luke Tyerman. See his *Wesley*, I.486-7.

³⁸ *JWJ.*, III. 508-10; *CWJ.*, II.13. cf. *CWJ.*, I.192 for a letter by Charles Wesley notifying Dr. Joseph Butler, Bishop of Bristol, that 'Several persons, both Quakers and Baptists, have applied to me for baptism. . . . They choose . . . to be baptized by immersion; and have engaged me to give your Lordship notice, as the Church requires.'

In the case of Quaker-bred Joseph Jones, an itinerant preacher 1744-60, his baptism by John Wesley was regarded as a routine duty rather than as a spiritual landmark. See *Arminian Magazine* (1789), XII.291.

³⁹ *JWJ.*, II.526.

An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people, in scorn, called Quakers. Wesley had carefully read this Quaker manifesto in 1740, and certainly rated it much higher than George Fox's *Journal*, into which he dipped about the same period—later he thought it most charitable to write Fox off as a madman.⁴⁰ Not that his estimate of Barclay's work was very high, however, even though he used extracts as a printed antidote to the Calvinism of George Whitefield. In May 1745 Wesley wrote:

Finding no other way to convince some who were hugely in love with that solemn trifle, my brother and I were at the pains of reading over Robert Barclay's *Apology* with them. Being willing to receive the light, their eyes were opened. They saw his nakedness, and were ashamed.⁴¹

Wesley was not quite fair to Barclay, of course, in thus labelling this unique Quaker classic a 'solemn trifle'. He was also guilty of 'wishful thinking'. Two Methodist stalwarts in particular were involved on this occasion, William Briggs and John Webb. Briggs, it is true, was eventually cured of his infatuation for Barclay, becoming a prominent Methodist layman, and one of the first London stewards. By the end of the year, however, John Webb, 'thoroughly poisoned by Robert Barclay's *Apology*' had thrown in his lot with the Friends, and in 1753 ventured into print against the Methodists, whom he described as 'like sheep that are scattered about on the dry mountains of profession without a shepherd', accusing the Wesley brothers of having 'been of great hindrance unto the Gospel'.⁴²

Several Methodists, while not wholly won over to Quakerism like Webb and others, wavered between the two communities. In September 1744 Wesley recorded how Richard Jeffs of London sent word that

he had now found the right way of worshipping God; and therefore he must leave off prayer and the rest of our will-worship, and join himself with the Quakers. However, in the evening he ventured among us once more, and God smote him to the heart; so that he knew, and felt, and declared aloud, that he had no need of going elsewhere to find the power of God unto salvation.

Two months later Jeffs once more decided to join the Friends, after a farewell visit to receive the Sacrament with the Methodists—only to be once more convinced of his mistake.⁴³

All this time there had been little official action taken in the gathering disputes, on either side. Throughout the century, in fact, there was really very little controversial literature issued by Methodists and Quakers against each other. One London Friend, Richard Finch, writing under various pseudonyms, between 1739 and 1746 had issued pamphlets indirectly reflecting on Methodism, although at first he had drawn some of the anti-Methodist fire against

⁴⁰ *JWJ.*, II.423d.; cf. *JWL.*, VIII.252; *JWW.*, VI.328.

⁴¹ *JWJ.*, III.177. Wesley's tract based on Barclay was called *Serious Considerations on Absolute Predestination. Extracted from a late author.* cf. *ibid.*, II.407–8d., 448, and R. Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 22.

⁴² John Webb's pamphlet supplies valuable details on the situation. It is entitled *An Appeal unto the Honest and Sincere-Hearted, among the People called Methodists and Quakers.* See especially pp. 2, 5, 59–60. cf. *JWJ.*, III.177, 232.

⁴³ *JWJ.*, III.148, 152.

himself as a 'Quakero-Methodist'. The 'Archbishop of the Methodists', the Rev. Vincent Perronet of Shoreham, entered into correspondence with Finch, in 1747 publishing his friendly corrections of the Quaker attitude toward the Sacraments, together with a fuller confutation of Barclay, upon whose *Apology*, of course, Finch based his position.⁴⁴ 'Official' opposition, however, may be said to date from the publication early in 1746 of the second part of Wesley's *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, although the gauntlet was not really flung down until 1748, in his *Letter to a Person lately join'd with the People call'd Quakers*.

WESLEY CHALLENGES THE FRIENDS

Wesley's *Farther Appeal*, Part Two, was above all a plea for moral reformation, doctrinal issues being ignored. It was addressed primarily to Anglicans, but also to Dissenters and Roman Catholics. Although Wesley agreed that the Quaker principles of conduct were praiseworthy, he maintained that they had been largely forgotten through a narrow-minded insistence on particular details of behaviour, contemporary Friends 'mistaking the sample for the whole bale of cloth'. Thus plain language had degenerated into the rigid (and not always grammatical) use of 'thee' and 'thou', while it really implied 'an open, undisguised sincerity, a child-like simplicity in all we speak'.⁴⁵ So with the question of plain dress, on which he had previously crossed swords with Anthony Purver. Here Wesley waxed really indignant:

You retain just so much of your ancient practice, as leaves your present without excuse. . . . What multitudes of you are very jealous as to the colour and form of your apparel (the least important of all the circumstances that relate to it), while in the most important, the expense, they are without any concern at all! They will not put on a scarlet or crimson stuff, but the richest velvet, so it be black or grave. They will not touch a coloured riband; but will cover themselves with a stiff silk from head to foot. They cannot bear purple; but make no scruple at all of being clothed in fine linen; yea, to such a degree, that the linen of the Quakers is grown almost to a proverb.

Surely you cannot be ignorant, that the sinfulness of fine apparel lies chiefly in the expensiveness; in that it is robbing God and the poor; it is defrauding the fatherless and widow; it is wasting the food of the hungry, and withholding his raiment from the naked to consume it on our own lusts.⁴⁶

From questions of language and dress Wesley turned to the 'main principle' of the Friends:

We are all to be 'taught of God', to be inspired and 'led by His Spirit': and then we shall 'worship Him', not with dead form, but 'in spirit and in truth'.

⁴⁴ For Finch, see Smith, I.609-11, and cf. Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, Nos. 11, 34, 42, 93. ('T. S-y's real name is not known to Green.) Perronet's pamphlet was entitled *An Affectionate Address to the People called Quakers*, of which Joseph Smith's *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana* truly says: 'The Spirit of Love and meekness seems to pervade it.' See especially pp. iv-vi and 27 of the pamphlet.

⁴⁵ *JWW*, VIII.185. A later example of Wesley's complaint that the Friends too often lacked sincerity and simplicity is seen in a letter of 1780 to Penelope Newman: 'I have not known ten Quakers in my life whose experience went so far as justification. I never knew one who clearly experienced what we term 'sanctification'. But, indeed, their language is so dark and equivocal, that one scarce knows what they do experience and what they do not.' On the other hand, Wesley himself on occasion plentifully besprinkled his tracts with the second person singular, one of them (*A Word to a Swearer*) being wholly written in this idiom.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 186.

With this, of course, he heartily agreed, though pointing out that many of them 'held fast the words, and were utterly ignorant of their meaning'. As he pressed home on them the 'inward principle' of *all* religious life he fell into their own idiom:

Dost thou experience this principle in thyself? What saith thy heart? Does God dwell therein? And doth it now echo to the voice of God? Hast thou the continual inspiration of His Spirit, filling thy heart with His love, as with a well of water, springing up into everlasting life?

Art thou acquainted with the 'leading of His Spirit', not by notion only, but by living experience? I fear very many of you talk of this, who do not so much as know what it means. . . . Perhaps, as much as you talk of them, you do not know the difference between *form* and *spirit*. . . . You was afraid of formality in public worship: and reason good. But was you afraid of it nowhere else? Did not you consider that formality in common life is also an abomination to the Lord? . . . At all times, and in all places, worship Him 'in spirit and in truth'.⁴⁷

The *Farther Appeal* naturally caused some heart-searching among those Friends who read it, and Wesley's frankness inevitably aroused some prejudice against him. In May 1747 one well-known Yorkshire Quaker, Joseph Milthorp, saw Wesley 'upon the road, reading in a book as he rid along', and quickly wrote and delivered a letter of challenge on the *Farther Appeal*, though much of his energy was dissipated in criticizing Wesley's income as a Fellow of Lincoln College.⁴⁸ Wesley's undoubted sincerity, however, in at least a few cases led to a measure of reconciliation and reformation. At Leominster in August 1746, for instance, a Friend said to him after the service:

I was much displeased with thee because of thy last *Appeal*; but my displeasure is gone. I heard thee speak, and my heart clave to thee.⁴⁹

Methodists continued to fall victims to Barclay, however, and to Quietism, of which the Friends were the chief exponents. This negative mysticism was an emphasis, often an over-emphasis, upon the worthlessness of any actions initiated by man, with its corollary, the necessity of passive waiting for the revelation of God within, which might sometimes prove the spur to spiritual adventure, but which was often regarded as an all-sufficient end in itself. The Methodist society at Cardiff was influenced strongly by this teaching, making Wesley's personal intervention necessary. Even Howell Harris could write in his diary for 26th April 1746:

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 188-9. An example of the kind of thing which Wesley had in mind is found in John Bennet's MS. Diary (at the Methodist Book Room) for 19th April 1747. Bennet visited Kendal, lodging at a Quaker widow's inn, and discovering that while the good lady was quite ready to converse amicably about spiritual things, one of the leading Friends who came to confer with him was of quite a different calibre. Bennet says: 'As soon as he came in I had a suspicion of him not being a Christian indeed, for he called quickly for his pipe and pot. His conversation from the first to the last was about Baptism, The Lord's Supper, Swearing, Thee and Thou. He endeavoured to accuse us of these great errors, as he called them, and about these were his whole discourse. I found his conversation hurtful to my soul, because it no ways tended to the glory of God.' Bennet was particularly disgusted to find that although it was Easter Sunday, yet a prominent Kendal Quaker was due to give a public reading of the newspaper at the inn.

⁴⁸ Milthorp MSS.: Letters of Joseph Milthorp, p. 146, at Friends House, London. The reply for which Milthorp asked does not seem to have survived.

⁴⁹ JWJ., III.252.

In discoursing with Nath. Price of Cardiff I had much light, he saying how when the Power of God comes we lose all our head knowledge and schemes and marks and will, and sink to nothing, seeing and knowing nothing but God, in silence adoring him.⁵⁰

One convert gained by the Quakers, Thomas Burton of London, became vocal about his new convictions, in 1747 publishing *A Friendly Letter to John and Charles Wesley. Wrote for the sake of their followers, who are or may be dissatisfied with their way of worship. By a Person that found occasion to withdraw from their Society, and join with the People called Quakers.* This was not strictly an attack on Methodism, but a mild-spoken defence of his altered views. The Wesleys, he maintained, were like Moses, being able only to bring their people to the verge of the Promised Land of true spiritual religion, advising:

Therefore when the Lord may be pleased to set about to bring any sincere souls that are among you, more nearer to Himself, and into a more spiritual Dispensation, . . . think it not strange, for you cannot hold them; but be content, as Moses was, to be instruments in the Lord's Hand in bringing the people just so far as the Lord may think fit; and be willing to give them up, and resign them over, and recommend them to the conduct and guidance of the Spiritual Joshua, the true *Minister* of the *Sanctuary*, the *Anointing*, that teaches as never man taught.⁵¹

WESLEY VERSUS BARCLAY

At length Wesley resolved to grasp the nettle firmly. On 10th February 1748 he wrote a letter to another Methodist who had joined the Friends,⁵² printing it soon after as a sixteen-page pamphlet with the title *A Letter to a Person lately join'd with the People call'd Quakers. In answer to a letter wrote by him.* It passed through three editions that year, and was later reprinted in Wesley's *Preservative against Unsettled Notions in Religion.* One of the opening paragraphs made it quite clear that he was writing not against people, but opinions:

I do by no means intend to deny, by any of the following reflections, that many Quakers (so termed) are real Christians, men who have the mind that was in Christ. With some of them I count it a blessing to converse, and cannot but esteem them very highly in love.⁵³

⁵⁰ *WHS.*, XXV.57. It was probably about this period that David Taylor came under the spell of the Quakers for a time. (Atmore's *Methodist Memorial*, 412-3.) In William Darney's doggerel hymns there is a similar despising of 'carnal wisdom', which he says (in his preface) 'corks up the soul from receiving the Blessing of God'. Wesley himself had also passed that way, nearly 'making shipwreck' of his life on the rock of the mystical writers who were the fountain-head of Quaker Quietism, Molinos, Madame Guyon, Madame Bourignon, Fenelon, and others. cf. Jones, 32-103, etc.

⁵¹ *Friendly Letter*, pp. 4-5. This rare pamphlet does not appear in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*.

⁵² Apparently Stephen Plummer of Paulton near Bristol. The Rev. John Telford, who reprinted the *Letter* in *JWL.*, II.116-28, suggested that it was written to Thomas Whitehead, who was, however, as we have seen, a Quaker converted to Methodism. For evidence pointing to Plummer as the recipient, see the present writer's article in *WHS.*, XXI. 156, and cf. Wesley's reference in the *Letter* to Paulton (p. 122).

⁵³ *Letter*, 1st ed. (1748), p. 3. This, and a few other passages, are omitted in the revised editions of later years, when the *Letter* was pruned of some of its personal references in order to make it more suitable for a standard refutation of Quakerism. Unfortunately Telford has followed the later version, which gained currency *via* Wesley's *Works*. Four additional sentences occur, however, in this later version: two pointing out the influence of Behmen on Barclay, another drawing attention to the neglect of singing by the Friends, and the other summing up 'the main difference between Quakerism and Christianity'.

The *Letter* consisted almost entirely of an examination of Barclay's *Theses Theologicae*, the fifteen propositions in which he summed up the essentials of the Christian faith. Giving a typical abridgement of each one in turn, Wesley either agreed that in it there was 'no difference between Quakerism and Christianity', or else pointed out in what that difference lay.

With the first nine propositions, dealing with basic theology, Wesley had little quarrel, except to emphasize the importance of the Scriptures and to correct Barclay's views of justification. In discussing the tenth, however, he pointed out that ordination for the ministry as a seal of the divine call was an apostolic practice, while he also refused to countenance the public preaching of women. The ordering of public worship Wesley defended at length from proposition eleven, pointing out that the Quaker interpretation of being 'moved by His Spirit' was too narrow, since God spoke to man's reason as well as to his feelings, so that

You are as really moved by the Spirit to pray, whether it be in public or private, when you have a conviction it is the will of God you should, as when you have the strongest impulse upon your heart.

The charge of 'will-worship' he turned round on the Friends themselves, with their emphasis upon silent meetings, and also (in later editions) reprimanded them for their neglect of music, if they did indeed regard the singing of psalms as a true part of worship. In dealing with propositions twelve and thirteen, on the Sacraments, Wesley contented himself with exposing the fallacies on which Barclay based his arguments from Scripture, later editions ending with the words:

In what Robert Barclay teaches concerning the Scriptures, Justification, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper lies the main difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

Wesley still had a few objections left for the last proposition, however, in which were enshrined the Quaker 'testimonies'. The refusal to employ recognized titles of honour, to uncover the head, or bow, or kneel, he dismissed as 'mere superstition', adding that to insist on 'thou' and 'thee' was still greater superstition:

The placing religion in such things as these is such egregious trifling, as naturally tends to make all religion stink in the nostrils of infidels and heathens.

His point about plain dress being inexpensive Wesley repeated from the *Farther Appeal*. On the matter of swearing an oath before a magistrate he disagreed with Barclay, while on the question of pacifism he was non-committal.⁶⁴

The *Letter* closed with a personal appeal which reveals Wesley's deeply practical attitude to religion:

I have now given you (so far as my time would permit), a plain answer to a plain question: not troubling myself with the personal reflections which make up so great a part of your letter. These do not lessen my affection for you. I still mourn over

⁶⁴ Even in those days some Methodists were pacifists and others not, although to the question 'Is it lawful to bear arms?' the first Conference in 1744 had replied, 'We incline to think it is'; the question was raised again the following year also on behalf of two disputants. (John Bennet's MS. *Minutes*, WHS. Publication, I.18, 27-8.)

you as one that did run well, that *began in the Spirit*, and is now in danger of *ending in the flesh*. You have an honest heart, but a weak head: you have a zeal, but not according to knowledge. You was zealous once for the love of God and man, for holiness of heart and holiness of life: you are now zealous, for particular forms of speaking, for a set of phrases, and opinions. Once your zeal was against ungodliness and unrighteousness, against evil tempers and evil works: now it is against forms of prayer, against singing psalms or hymns, against appointing times of praying or preaching; against saying *you* to a single person, uncovering your head, or having too many buttons upon your coat. O what a fall is there! What poor trifles are these, that now wellnigh engross your thoughts! Come back, come back to the weightier matters of the law, to spiritual, rational, scriptural religion. No longer waste your time and strength in beating the air, in vain controversies and strife of words: but bend your whole soul to the growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the continually advancing in that holiness, without which you cannot see the Lord.

I am your sincere friend and servant, for Christ's sake.⁵⁵

Some answer was to be expected. Two came almost immediately, both from the Bristol area, and both printed by Samuel Farley. One was a rather unconvincing pamphlet, almost double the length of Wesley's, by the Quaker poet of Sutton Benger, John Fry; following Wesley's example, it was published anonymously. The other, a broadside, was by a former Methodist, John Curtis, who challenged the unknown author to answer six queries on true Christianity, maintaining that the *Letter* was a subtle attack designed to mislead 'poor illiterate mechanicks'.⁵⁶ Curtis was soon to be the focal point of anti-Methodist agitations in Ireland.

FRANK BAKER

(*To be continued*)

⁵⁵ *Letter*, 1st ed., p. 15 (abridged in later editions). The reference to Plummer's honest heart but weak head is significant in view of *JWJ*, IV.81, where Wesley claims that his brain had actually turned.

⁵⁶ These two rare publications, which are not recorded in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, were entitled: (a) *Some Remarks on a pamphlet intituled, 'A Letter . . .'. In a Letter from a Friend in the country to another in Bristol*; (b) *A Letter to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled 'A Letter . . .'*. This latter, by Curtis, is dated from Bristol, 1st March 1748.

G. K. CHESTERTON AND THE DISCOVERY OF CHRISTIANITY

THE DIFFICULTY of writing about Gilbert Keith Chesterton is that there is so much of him—in every sense of the words. His very name prepares us for it; it is an orotund name, a mouthful of generous syllables. To anyone who knew nothing else about him it would, one may suppose, convey an impression of weight and girth—of girth in the first syllable, and weight in the last; and when we remember how abnormally responsive he was to the magic of words, it hardly seems fanciful to suppose that he was under a sort of compulsion to fulfil the promise of his name. As a youth he was exceptionally tall and lanky; when Mrs. Chesterton called on the High Master of St. Paul's School to consult him about her son's future, he exhorted her to cherish him, for she was the mother of 'six foot of genius'. But that expansive name demanded not only that he should live up to it but, as it were, fill out to it, and this he soon proceeded to do. He claimed to be the politest man in England because he once stood up in an omnibus and offered his seat to two—or was it three?—ladies. On the other hand, like many fat men he had a piping voice which had never properly broken. James Agate acutely remarks of him that 'the physical girth represented the boundless mind, and the tiny voice the essential child-likeness'. Boundless is not too strong a word; he may have had his detractors, but no one could ever say of him that his was a slender talent. One sometimes wonders if anyone has ever succeeded in collecting all the books that he wrote—when I look at the long row of his volumes on my own shelves I remember what Dryden said of Chaucer: 'This is God's plenty.' There is a good deal to be said for the contention that quantity as well as quality is a necessary mark of genius, and Chesterton passes that test with plenty to spare. His life was not a long one—he died less than two months after this sixty-second birthday—and writing never came easily to him, even though it came naturally; yet the bibliography which Maisie Ward prints as an appendix to his biography gives a list of about a hundred volumes, besides an equal number of prefaces to the books of other men; and as editor of *The New Witness* and its successor, *G. K.'s Weekly*, he did a vast amount of incidental writing which was never reprinted.

Yet this is but the most obvious aspect of his almost riotous fertility; his books are not only many but of almost every kind, and he may be said to have kept a dozen literary careers all going at the same time. There is a sentence of Meredith's that often comes to my mind when I think of Chesterton. He is describing a jovial mob marching behind a big drum that someone is whacking lustily, and he makes the comment—which I am sure would have appealed to Chesterton—that 'a light heart in a fat body ravishes not only the world, but the philosopher'. I will not say that this is Chesterton in a nutshell, because it is impossible to imagine Chesterton in a nutshell; but no other writer ever contrived to be so light-hearted and at the same time so weighty, and thus to ravish both the world and the philosopher. His place among the great English humorists is assured, yet he declared that he never in his life said anything merely because he thought it funny; and one must believe him even though it seems almost supernatural. He did not jest for the sake of jesting, but for the sake of

the true word that is often spoken in jest; and often cannot be spoken so effectively in any other way. He was once reproved by Mr. Joseph McCabe, the rationalist, for writing frivolously about serious things; he replied that it is quite possible to be funny and yet serious. 'Funny', he points out, 'is not the opposite of serious, it is merely the opposite of not-funny', and he brings out the distinction in this way. 'Mr. Bernard Shaw is funny and sincere; Mr. George Robey is funny and not sincere; Mr. McCabe is sincere and not funny; the average Cabinet Minister is not funny, and not sincere.' Even the vulgar jokes of the music halls and the comic papers, the ancient chestnuts about mothers-in-law and hen-pecked husbands, are at bottom philosophical jokes: 'When once you have got hold of a vulgar joke, you may be certain that you have got hold of a subtle and spiritual idea.' The popular House of Commons joke about an M.P. spoiling the effect of an eloquent peroration by sitting down on his hat is really a theological joke; it refers to the dual nature of man, 'to the paradox that man is superior to all the things around him, and yet at their mercy'. The jokes about hen-pecked husbands are evidence that the common people know more about the relations of the sexes as they operate in real life than the highbrows who cannot see straight because their theories cause them to squint. 'If you read even the best of the intellectuals of today you will find them saying that in the mass of the democracy the woman is the chattel of her lord, like his bath or his bed. But if you read the comic literature of the democracy you will find that the lord hides under the bed to escape from the wrath of his chattel. This is not the fact, but it is much nearer the truth. Every man who is married knows quite well, not only that he does not regard his wife as a chattel, but that no man can conceivably ever have done so. . . . Even if the man is the head of the house, he knows he is the figure-head.'

I am afraid that this article will be, like *Hamlet*, full of quotations—it is a temptation I shall be quite unable to resist; my excuse must be that the quotations will be much the best things in the article. There is one thing more to be said about Chesterton's humour. It is utterly serious because it is an intrinsic part of his philosophy, not just a sauce that is added to make it palatable. For humour is rooted in common sense, and common sense, as he himself has somewhere remarked, is a wild and even a savage thing, which turns round on everything that threatens sanity and rends it. He gave to one of his volumes of essays the title of *The Defendant*, and Chesterton the humorist was a defender of the faith of normal people, a crusader making gay but implacable war on behalf of the best traditions of mankind. He might have said with Sir Andrew Aguecheek, 'I have no more wit than a Christian or an ordinary man has,' for he would have agreed that to be a Christian is to be ordinary, since the ordinary man is a man whose mind has been formed by the Christian tradition. Common sense is the consensus of opinion that goes to make up the mental climate of Christendom, and the humour of the common people is their way of passing judgement on opinions and behaviour which they feel to be alien to their ingrained convictions. In this sense Chesterton was not only content but proud to be one of the common people; he could relish their jokes because he accepted their point of view; and when he made fun he, like them, was making war. For the price of common sense, like that of liberty, is eternal vigilance. He always maintained that normality is the wildest and most perilous adventure to which

the human mind is called; it is the problem of keeping upright in the midst of hostile forces that may at any moment throw you off your balance. So far from dulling your wits it sharpens them, as a man's mind is keyed up in battle or on the ledge by which he makes his precarious way across a precipice. Or, to use his own magnificent metaphor in *Orthodoxy*, it is 'the equilibrium of a man behind madly rushing horses, seeming to stoop this way and to sway that, yet in every attitude having the grace of statuary and the accuracy of arithmetic. . . . To have fallen into any one of the fads from Gnosticism to Christian Science would indeed have been obvious and tame. But to have avoided them all has been one whirling adventure; and in my vision the heavenly chariot flies thundering through the ages, the dull heresies sprawling and prostrate, the wild truth reeling but erect.'

But if we are to keep our balance in a mad and dangerous world, it is not enough to remain on the defensive. It is necessary that we should set a positive value on sane things for their own sake, that we should endeavour by every means to preserve our sense of their goodness and to renew it again and again, for if the salt should lose its savour it will be cast out and trampled underfoot of men. Common sense is always in need of being quickened; the appreciation of what is normal must be continually stimulated and vivified; good things must not be taken for granted. It was this task which Chesterton undertook and in which he persisted unflaggingly from first to last. In his early and hilarious period he cast his philosophy into the form of wildly farcical fables such as *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* and *Manalive*—stories of ordinary men who took an extraordinary delight in ordinary things. The hero of *Manalive* rejoices to share with millions of others the catholic name of Smith, and carries sanity to such rapturous lengths that he narrowly escapes getting certified as a criminal lunatic. He breaks at night into his own premises so that he can get the same thrill out of taking possession of the things that lawfully belong to him that a housebreaker would feel when he pounced upon them as the exciting reward of a risky enterprise. In order to quicken his sense of domestic bliss he disguises himself as an Italian organ-grinder, serenades his own wife under her window, and finally prevails on her to elope with him in a gratuitous rapture of romance. He sets off to walk round the world so that he may taste the fullness of joy in arriving home at last like much-travelled Ulysses. As someone in the story says of him, he lashed his soul with laughter to prevent it from falling asleep.

How necessary this vigorous defence of normality was is shown by the fact that people found these opinions so odd that they were inclined to dismiss him as a paradox-monger. Now it is quite true that his writings do bristle with verbal paradox, and it may be that he carried this and his other literary tricks and ingenuities a good deal too far, so that he really defeated his own ends. It is all very well to startle people's minds into alertness by an occasional application of electric shocks, so long as it is judicious and well-timed, but if the battery is never turned off it will simply put their brains out of action; a man who doesn't know how to be dull is in danger of becoming a bore. Chesterton did not altogether escape this danger, but it has to be remembered that in the conditions under which most of his work—that of a literary journalist—was done, these galvanic shocks were administered mostly in small doses and at decent intervals. His concentrated and epigrammatic style was admirably

suited to work of that kind, which after all was his staple work throughout his life. He was an essayist, and an essayist is best enjoyed if he is taken as a cocktail—little and often, but not too often. But it is hardly the best style for a long book; there is not enough dull relief. Chesterton must be the only philosopher who is sometimes unreadable because he wrote too well.

But when people charged him with being paradoxical it was not this that they meant. They were quite willing to applaud his verbal cleverness, what they could not understand was his essential sanity; it was incomprehensible to them that a man of such intelligence could believe in all the ordinary things. He was a Liberal, but he was not 'advanced'; on the contrary, he poured devastating ridicule on most of the fashionable novelties of 'modern thought'. As often as not he was fighting on two fronts at once. He was for example as much alive as any man to the abuses of the capitalist system, but he was also resolute in his rejection of the socialist solution. That would only mean the transfer of economic power from the anonymous Trust or Combine to an even more terrifying abstraction, the soulless omnipotent State. Better the limited commercial company than the all-powerful political bureaucracy. His own solution was the policy which came to be known as Distributism. It is an unfortunate name, and I cannot believe that he was responsible for it. It can only be explained on the assumption that an enemy hath done this; for if, as I fear, Chesterton's proposals have made little impression on the public imagination, it is because they could not take in that repulsive word. But the leading idea is, as usual, perfectly simple. He himself put it in a sentence: 'I am', he said, 'one of those who believe that the cure for centralization is decentralization.' That is to say, the proper remedy for the concentration of wealth in a very few hands is not socialism, for what is everybody's property is nobody's property; the proper thing is to recognize that everybody has the right to possess some property of his own. The evil of capitalism and socialism alike is that they deny this elementary right by creating monopolies which crush out the small man, robbing him of the ownership of his own shop, his own means of production, or his own bit of land. The remedy for the evils of capitalism is to spread capital more evenly.

I am not here concerned to discuss these proposals, beyond making the obvious remark that modern industrial production requires the outlay of immense sums on machinery and other forms of capital equipment, and the Distributists were never able to show how, on their principles, the necessary large concentrations of capital were to be provided. The point here is that, whatever the remedy may be, Chesterton did at least state the problem in the right way. He saw that it is a human problem, and insisted that it never will be solved unless it is approached from the human standpoint. The system must be fitted to the man, for industry, like the Sabbath, was made for man, not man for industry. No society can be healthy unless daily work gives reasonable satisfaction to the normal instincts of human nature, and one of them is the legitimate wish to have something that you can call your own. He thought that this was better understood in the middle ages than in modern times. He was no medievalist in the puling sentimental sense, but he felt sure that in the middle ages, whatever their defects, men at least had the right idea, for they were less concerned to organize society on some theoretical pattern than to

live their own lives in ways that are natural to human beings. We cannot go back to the crude medieval economy, but we should never have departed from the fundamental sanity of the medieval outlook, and that is what we must get back to. If this is regarded as a paradox, it only shows that we have bemused ourselves with social theories and lost our common sense.

This, however, was only one of the innumerable controversies into which he flung himself. They began in the nursery, and they continued to the end. It is said that when his brother Cecil was born, Gilbert, then five years old, welcomed the event with the remark: 'Now I shall always have an audience.' It is not recorded that Cecil himself made any remark for the moment, but as soon as he could speak he began to argue, and he never afterwards stopped. They argued endlessly, and they never quarrelled. But Chesterton was a man with whom it was impossible to quarrel. He won the admiration and affection of all who had anything to do with him, and those who differed most strongly from his opinions loved him even in spite of themselves. As a controversialist he was superbly equipped, armed with every weapon and the master of them all. He could use the bludgeon as effectively as Dr. Johnson, but he preferred the rapier, and his sword-play was superb. He was fortunate also in his opponents, who were formidable enough to put him on his mettle and bring the best out of him. Two of them at least, H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, were men of genius, and they formed a mutual admiration society which did not interfere at all with their implacable differences. Wells was not a good-tempered man and his tantrums were often excessively trying. He even succeeded in quarrelling with Shaw, but he always yielded in the end to Chesterton's invincible good nature; he was forced to confess that to get angry with Chesterton was an impossibility.

The never-ending debate between Chesterton and Shaw has been the gayest, most diverting entertainment of our time; none the less, it has been a dispute over fundamentals. Providence never played a more amusing trick than when it put these two men into the same world to contradict each other up hill and down dale, in the Press and on the platform, with tongue and with pen. They were a perfect match for one another in wit and literary skill, but in all other respects they were totally opposed. Even in their personal appearance and private habits there was something that symbolized the quality of their minds; their very names are an index to the difference between them. I have already commented on the rich and generous sound of the words Gilbert Keith Chesterton, while George Bernard Shaw sounds cold and glittering, like an icicle; one might almost suppose that he had invented it himself, it is so exactly in harmony with the chilly brilliance of his style. Chesterton would have liked people to believe that he ate red beef and pickles for breakfast and washed them down with draughts of beer out of a pewter pot, like the characters in Dickens; Shaw is a vegetarian, a teetotaler, and a non-smoker. Chesterton had the intellectual high spirits of a brilliant schoolboy; Shaw has the mind of an exquisitely rational and witty maiden lady.

Even where they agreed they differed. There is an amusing example of this in their opinions about Dickens. Chesterton of course adored Dickens; he had devoured his books in boyhood, and once he publicly expressed regret that Shaw had not had the same rich and humanizing education. Shaw replied by telling

him that he 'mustn't come Dickens over me'; he too had been brought up on Dickens, and it was to him that he owed the awakening of his social conscience. But in an introduction which he has written recently to a reprint of *Great Expectations* he points out that Dickens and Karl Marx were both writing at the same time. Both were revolutionists, though Marx knew it and Dickens did not. Marx had a programme and a remedy for the social evils which they both attacked, Dickens had nothing but righteous indignation, and his protests were largely ineffective because his revolutionary wrath was neutralized by his bourgeois mentality. If he had been more of a thinker he would have seen that the logic of his criticism of parliamentary institutions was to sweep them away altogether, as they have been swept away by the Marxists, and to replace them by something more rational and efficient.

Nothing could have been more repugnant to Chesterton. What he valued in Dickens was precisely the warmth of his anger and his complete indifference to all ideological short cuts to Utopia; wrath is the healthy human reaction to human wrongs. If you sit down in cold blood to correct them by designing a brand-new world out of your own head—your head rather than your heart—you will only end by creating a greater wrong. The neater the design the more inhuman it is bound to be. It will give you a mechanical world, and then you will find that in order to make it work smoothly you will have to turn men into mechanical men; you must emasculate them in order to save their souls. The revolutionary rage of Dickens was a human thing; he did not provide ready-made remedies for the evils he exposed, but he saw quite clearly that it is no use saving souls unless you save them intact, and whatever the remedy may be, it must begin by calling men to repentance. The cold revolutionary logic of Marx would impose virtue on nations with all the rigorous efficiency with which virtue is imposed on convicts, who probably lead more exemplary lives than monks; the only difference being that their austerities are involuntary.

This was the ground on which the long and brilliant duel between the two men was fought from first to last. As Sydney Smith remarked of the two Irishmen who were shouting each other down from opposite sides of the street, they could never come to an agreement because they argued from different premises. Shaw wants a planned society, and has no objection in principle to a benevolent despotism, since that seems to be the only way the world can be tidied up. Untidiness is probably the thing he hates most in all the world; and because he himself could live contentedly in Bournville or the Hampstead Garden Suburb, he cannot understand that there are those who much prefer the Old Kent Road. If people don't want to live in model surroundings they must be made to do so for their own good; mother knows best. They will get used to it in time, as Eliza Doolittle got used to baths. What he does not understand is that it is just as tyrannical to tell people that they must put up with good conditions whether they like them or not as to tell them that bad conditions can't be cured and therefore must be endured; it is significant that the man who worked the transformation in Eliza Doolittle did so by bullying her unmercifully. But, as Chesterton has somewhere pointed out, this is a form of religious persecution. And this was the principle of his objection to a good many reforms, including temperance reform; like Archbishop Magee, he would rather see England free than England sober. Good government is bad

government unless it is government by consent. It is as true of public as of private virtue that there is no virtue in it if it is not a deliberate act of choice.

I have dwelt at some length on this crucial opposition of first principles—and it could be illustrated in many other ways—partly because it is an essential clue to the philosophy of the two men, and partly because it has now emerged as the dividing-line in the great debate which has split mankind in two. The peaceable wrangling of Chesterton and Shaw has become the angry clash of world forces threatening war. It is no longer a case of live and let live; communism and democracy cannot live together; the compulsion of their own logic drives them on to fight it out, even against their own will. Whether it is to be cold war or open war makes little difference; cold or hot, it will settle the future of mankind.

It is in fact a religious war; and that, Chesterton always maintained, is the only righteous war; there is nothing worth dying for except the principles by which you live. He neither glorified war nor condemned it in itself; it is as true of war as of everything else that 'nothing is either good or bad but thinking makes it so'—it is the idea behind the war that decides whether it is right or wrong. If you have a faith you are bound to fight for it if need be, but to fight for anything less than a faith is a crime. 'There are some people,' he says, 'and I am one of them, who think that the most practical and important thing about a man is still his view of the universe. We think that for a general about to fight an enemy it is important to know the enemy's numbers, but still more important to know the enemy's philosophy.' If it is an evil philosophy that you are fighting, then you can fight with a good conscience. He resolutely opposed the Boer War because he believed that the motives behind it on our side were indefensible. It was a war of expropriation, and all the talk about the high imperial mission of England was a mask and a pretence, all the more nauseating because many of the 'patriots' who operated behind that rhetorical smoke-screen were cosmopolitan Jewish financiers. This was the origin of that leaning toward anti-semitism which is the one serious blot on his record. But he was equally resolute in his approval of the first World War, and we may be certain that if he had lived to encounter it he would have reacted against the foul Hitlerite philosophy with all the ardour of his crusading soul.

This brings me to the consideration of his religion, which was always the vitalizing root of his thinking. In order to understand the shape which it came to assume it is necessary to know something of the circumstances of his early life. He grew up in a comfortable middle-class home, and in the mental atmosphere of the rather easy-going liberal thought of the late Victorian period. There was a nonconformist strain in the family, his maternal grandfather having been a Wesleyan local preacher, 'and thus', as Chesterton remarks in his *Autobiography*, 'involved in public controversy, a characteristic which has descended to his grandchild. He was also one of the leaders of the early Teetotal movement, a characteristic which has not.' Whether he got it from his grandfather or not, Chesterton himself may be said to have been a born preacher, but he found himself in a world where there did not seem to be anything very definite to preach about. His father, Edward Chesterton, was of a serene and humorous disposition, a man of hobbies, something of a potterer, but also a man who 'knew his English literature backwards'. His mother was

a 'character', famous in their social circle for her lavish hospitality, the wittiness of her conversation, her complete indifference to dress, and her sketchy house-keeping. It was a home in which Chesterton was completely happy.

Edward Chesterton was a Liberal in politics and a rather hazy liberal in religion; his favourite preacher, when he went to church at all, was Stopford Brooke. It was a *fin de siècle* state of mind which came very easily in that mellow period when everything seemed so secure. It was, so to speak, the mental counterpart of a pleasant day in September, when the sun shines and there is no wind, and in the slight haze the sharp edges of things are a little blurred and solid buildings seem insubstantial and unreal. No one then could have guessed that the time was approaching when men would wake up to find that the things they had valued were threatened and must be put in a state of defence; when they would discover that airy beliefs could not be maintained unless they could get them sharply defined in their own minds; that behind the pleasantly distorting haze a great darkness was coming up in which all that had once seemed so secure might disappear for ever. Chesterton, with his abnormal perceptiveness, seems to have had an intuition of the coming storm when it was no more than a cloud like a man's hand. Very early in life he grew discontented with the impressionism which was the fashion in religion as in art, the hazy undogmatic faith, the diluted light. Even as a boy he seemed to those who knew him to be in search of a faith: 'We felt', says his friend Lucian Oldershaw, who was at school with him, 'that he was looking for God.'

The faith that he found was, as everyone knows, the old faith; but—and this made all the difference—he found it for himself. He even found it unexpectedly, for it was not what he was looking for. In the famous simile in *Orthodoxy* he compares himself to 'an English yachtsman who slightly miscalculated his course and discovered England under the impression that it was a new island in the South Seas. . . . He landed (armed to the teeth and talking by signs) to plant the British flag on that barbaric temple which turned out to be the Pavilion at Brighton.' That is how he discovered Christianity; and though it was the old religion which in a vague way he had always known, it was startlingly new because he now saw it for the first time in a clear light. What he had really discovered indeed was the unfamiliar *meanings* in that familiar faith, its meanings as they are defined and made explicit in the dogmas of the Church. He had been led to suppose that Christianity was a moral sentiment; what he now discovered was that it is a rational creed.

This then was his originality—his discovery of the Christian creed; and so unexpected was it at the time he began to write, when even the pious made a virtue of vagueness and were more or less disposed to believe anything as long as it was not defined, that they found it almost impossible to take him seriously. Had not Tennyson besought them to believe that there is more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds? When they contrasted the oracular solemnity of their revered poet with the levity of this journalist-cum-theologian, it seemed obvious that he was a mere intellectual acrobat standing on his head and letting off fireworks of paradox. As a literary music-hall turn it was good entertainment, but he ought to have stuck to the music-hall jokes. Though they had no use for theology they still felt that to joke about it was decidedly in bad taste; it was as though he had gone into the pulpit wearing the mantle of Oscar

Wilde. But if the sermons were unconventional, the preacher was in deadly earnest. It was the audience who had treated the creeds as a joke; it was they who had sneered at the verbal perfections of the theologians, the vital diphthong for the sake of which Athanasius had defied the world; it was he, the jesting preacher, who alone saw the peril in which religion stood. The creeds must be built again into the structure of faith if the Church was not to go to pieces. The stone which the builders rejected he placed at the head of the corner.

For his religious philosophy Chesterton, with the sure though probably unconscious instinct of the artist, found a perfect symbol. He embodied it in the character of Father Brown. Like the creeds, the little priest seems ludicrously out of place in the modern world. He is dusty, threadbare, abstracted—if not a moon-calf, most decidedly a figure of fun. His brain is stuffed with metaphysics, but he seems to take it for granted that human wisdom terminated in the Thomist philosophy; he does not reject modern thought, he is simply unaware of it. He is an innocent abroad, a holy simpleton gone astray in a wicked world of which he knows nothing at all. But just because his head is in the clouds he, as it turns out, is perfectly able to find his way about in the underworld. A training in divinity is, paradoxically, the best possible training for the detection of crime. It has taught him the secrets of the human heart, made him familiar with the workings of the criminal mind, enabled him to strip away the sophistries by which evil seeks to justify itself, and, where he cannot bring wrongdoers to repentance, has given him an unerring skill in bringing them to justice. Like all Chesterton's fictions the Father Brown stories are fables, and if we do not grasp the underlying philosophy we entirely miss the point. What he would have us understand is that nothing short of clear religious convictions can encounter and overcome the evil that is abroad in the world; it is the man with a creed who stands guardian over the State. Religion alone enables society to maintain the moral vigilance which is the ultimate safeguard of civilization.

'All roads lead to Rome, all ways lead round again to the central and civilized philosophy, including this road through elfland and topsyturvydom'; that is how he himself summarized his pilgrimage in the greatest of his books, *The Everlasting Man*. It was indeed a devious and even fantastic road by which he travelled, but his end was in his beginning; almost from the first it was a foregone conclusion. He explored a thousand by-paths, but he never lost sight of the straight road which, granted the major assumptions from which he set out, led by an inexorable logic to the ancient capital of Christendom. If we are not able to follow him there, we can gladly acknowledge the intellectual integrity with which he pursued his way. The road does not stop at Rome, and the seeker who arrives there is not barred from pursuing it farther. We may be thankful that there is a road open from Rome to Bethlehem and Jerusalem; and no one can doubt that Chesterton followed it to the end.

W. S. HANDLEY JONES

LUTHER'S BEDSIDE MANUAL

THE RECENT Luther renaissance in the realm of scholarship is compelling us to revise our views about the great Reformer. A generation of patient research has amply vindicated Luther against his cultured despisers and presented us with a new estimate of his character. This process of revaluation has resulted in a modification of Carlyle's portrait of Luther, which still tends to dominate the popular mind.¹ We have been mistaken in identifying Luther with Odin and Thor. There is another side to his nature which reveals him as being no son of thunder at heart.

This 'new look' Luther, so long obscured by ignorance and prejudice, is clearly reflected in some of his less-known writings. Because so lamentably little of Luther is available in English, our knowledge of his works is generally confined to his Primary Treatises, which include *An Address to the German Nobility*, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *Concerning Christian Liberty*—what Dr. Smellie has christened 'the resounding hammer of Martin Luther'.² But the bulk of Luther's work, and especially his earlier work, is non-polemical in character. It consists either of expositions of Holy Scripture or of congregational pamphlets. Even during such a hectic year as 1519, when Luther was knee-deep in controversy with both Emser and Eck, he found time to edify his flock with such writings as these: *An Explanation of the Lord's Prayer for the simple laity*; *A Brief Explanation of the Ten Commandments*; *An Instruction concerning certain Articles*; *A Brief Instruction how to Confess*; *Of Meditation on the Sacred Passion of Christ*; *Of Twofold Righteousness*; *Of the Matrimonial Estate*; *A Brief Form to understand and pray the Lord's Prayer*; *A short and good Exposition of the Lord's Prayer forwards and backwards*; *Of Prayer and Processions in Rogation Week*; *Of Usury*; *Of the Sacrament of Penance*; *Of Preparation for Death*; *Of the Sacrament of Baptism*; *Of the Sacrament of the Sacred Body*; *Of Excommunication*.

It was in this same year that Luther's bedside manual was written. The *Tessaradecas Consolatoria*—*The Fourteen of Consolation*—was composed in the summer of 1519. Erasmus³ supposed that this little volume of practical theology was produced before Luther was involved in his controversies. On the contrary, it was penned in the midst of conflict. It has been aptly likened to the bunch of flowers which Luther held in his hand during the tense Leipzig Disputation. The *Tessaradecas* is just such a fragrant posy, born amid the battle-strife. The Romanist, Jannsen,⁴ is puzzled by such a work. 'One cannot help asking how the same hand which delighted to shatter as with a sledge-hammer all that had hitherto been held sacred and venerable, could also touch so tenderly the chords of Divine love.' The answer is not far to seek. The real Luther is other than we think. He did not 'delight' in the sledge-hammer as much as we have been led to suppose. He is equally at home in the quiet green pastures of this little devotional classic. A study of this deeply spiritual tract may help to restore the lost image of the original Luther to our minds.

¹ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, Lecture IV, p. 105.

² *The Reformation in its Literature*, p. 27.

³ *Opus Epistolarum*, p. 816.

⁴ *History of the German Nation*, III.239.

I

The *Tessaradecas* was written for Luther's Prince. Frederick the Third, Duke of Saxony, called 'the Wise', was one of the seven Imperial Electors. It was on this business that he visited Frankfurt-on-Main in the year 1519. The death of Maximilian the First had left vacant the Imperial throne and Frederick virtually held the casting vote between the two principal claimants—Charles the First of Spain and Francis the First of France.⁵ A last minute attempt was made to persuade Frederick to agree to nomination himself, but he refused, partly on the grounds of ill-health.⁶ Having been instrumental in the election of Charles the Fifth, Frederick returned to his residence at Torgau in high favour with the new Emperor⁷—a fact of no little importance for Luther. No sooner had the Elector arrived home than he was taken so seriously ill that his life was despaired of. News of his patron's sickness was brought to Luther. Already the Reformer had been inclined to show his gratitude to Frederick for the many kindnesses he had already received, and this seemed to be the opportune moment. He was encouraged in this design by his friend, George Spalatin, Frederick's chief chaplain, who suggested that he might prepare a consolatory tract to address to the Elector in his illness. The result was the *Tessaradecas*, which was meant to lie on the table by the sick-bed as a sort of spiritual medicine. It is a curious circumstance that the ill-health which prevented Frederick from accepting the Imperial crown was the reason for his receipt of this bedside manual.

In the Dedictory Epistle Luther explains his purpose. In obedience to Christ's own command to perform the duties of humanity, or (as the Scripture calls them) the works of mercy, to the afflicted and distressed, Luther seeks to comfort his patron in his illness. 'As, therefore, most illustrious Prince, I see that your Lordship has been stricken with a grave illness, and at the same time Christ is sick in you, I have deemed it my duty to visit your Lordship with some little writing of mine. For I cannot pretend that I do not hear the voice of Christ calling to me from your Lordship's body and flesh and saying, "Behold, here I am sick." . . . But I have other reasons, too, for this duty of mine. For I am aware that, as one of your Lordship's subjects, together with the rest of your many subjects, I ought to be afflicted in your affliction and suffer, as it were, along with you, as the member with the head, in whom all our fortunes, all our security and happiness rest. For we acknowledge your Lordship to be as a kind of Naaman through whom God is today giving

⁵ L. von Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany*, p. 186. Before they actually met in Frankfurt the Electors were subjected to a barrage of bribery from both parties. Frederick of Saxony, alone amongst his fellows, refused to be corrupted. His vote was vital, for upon it depended the formation of a universally recognized majority for either side. It is ironic that amongst the inducements held out by the Pope (who backed Francis) to the Elector was the offer of a Cardinal's hat for 'one of his friends'—which friend was evidently none other than Luther himself! (cf. J. Mackinnon, *Luther and the Reformation*, II.182.)

⁶ C. Beard, *Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany*, p. 317. 'For a few hours the highest crown in the world was at the disposal of Frederick of Saxony. But he firmly pushed it away. He was too old, his health was too broken, possibly, at bottom, the temper of his mind was too irresolute, to assume so vast a burthen of responsibility. . . . But it is impossible not to speculate upon what the after-history of Germany might have been if the Elector who loved and protected Luther had, at the very crisis of his fortune, been placed at the rudder of the State.'

⁷ L. von Ranke, op. cit., p. 192. cf. also Charles's letter to Frederick, 'Instruction to Hieronymus Brunner', Barcelona, 25th September 1519.

prosperity to Germany, just as formerly He gave prosperity to Syria. Wherefore the whole Roman Empire casts its eyes on your Lordship alone and both reveres and respects you as Father of the Fatherland, as the jewel of the Empire as a whole, but the ornament and defence of the German nation in particular.'⁸

Luther must have begun this work in August 1519 at the very latest, for by the 29th of that month he had reached the Sixth Image in the first part. He writes: 'Does not Blessed John the Baptist, whom we commemorate today as beheaded by Herod, confound us all with amazement?'⁹ On 22nd September he despatched the finished manuscript, in Latin, to Spalatin, asking him to make a free translation of it into German and present it to the Elector. By the end of November Spalatin had completed his task and at the beginning of December the original text was back again in Luther's hands, at his own request, 'so that he might console himself with it'.¹⁰

One problem immediately presents itself. Why this long delay on the part of Spalatin? If the Elector was so critically ill, should we not expect greater expedition? Was there not a real danger that the patient might have passed away before receiving this volume of spiritual consolation? Perhaps Frederick was already on the road to recovery; perhaps the work was supplied to him section by section. We cannot tell.

II

As yet Luther had no thought of publication. The prefatory note (written in 1535) makes that clear. 'I wrote this book, when my cause was in its infancy, for that most noble Prince, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, when he was seriously ill, but it was the wish of many that it should be published.'¹¹ In the Dedication to *Concerning Good Works* (1520), addressed to Duke John of Saxony, Luther modestly refers to the *Tessaradecas* as 'my worthless little book, compiled for His Electoral Grace, which is now published, though I did not intend it'.¹² Luther evidently wished it to remain what originally it was—a private writing. But those who had seen it urged him to have it printed. Amongst these, Spalatin, of course, was the chief agitator. He wanted to publish his own translation and eventually persuaded Luther to have both the Latin and German versions printed in Wittenberg. On 18th December Luther informed his friend: 'The *Tessaradecas* is being published in both languages.'¹³ On 5th February 1520 he was able to present Spalatin with a printed copy of the Latin and on the 11th of the German edition.

In the original Luther had enclosed a dedicatory letter, addressed to the Elector. Through some mistake, this was omitted from the Latin edition. He complains to Spalatin: 'The introductory letter of the *Tessaradecas* is missing, which greatly spoils the book and annoys me.'¹⁴

In 1535 a new and final edition was issued by Luther himself. In the Foreword he referred to the various editions through which the work had passed,

⁸ Dr. Martin Luther's *Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar) (henceforth referred to as *W.A.*), VI.105.

⁹ *ibid.*, VI.116.

¹⁰ Quoted from de Wette's edition of Luther's letters in the Introduction to the *Tessaradecas* in *W.A.*

¹¹ *W.A.*, VI.104.

¹² *ibid.*, VI.202.

¹³ From de Wette in *W.A.*

¹⁴ *ibid.*

with the result that it had become so badly corrupted and mutilated that many passages were lacking. Even he had forgotten the original form of some of them, but he had tried to restore the sense in accordance with the views he held in 1519. He had no wish, he said, to revise or expand the work, even if he had time. Then, somewhat sardonically, he added: 'For I desire in this book to set forth my progress and also to gratify the Antilogistae, so that they might have something on which to exercise their malice.'¹⁵ The Antilogistae were those who sought for inconsistencies in Luther's writings. Amongst the chief was John Faber, who in 1530 published his *Antilogarium Mart. Lutheri Babylonica*. Luther grimly suggested that he was in fact providing ammunition for his enemies' arsenal by republishing the *Tessaradecas* without removing its errors. But he cared not what men might say. 'It is enough for me if I please Christ my Lord and His saints. I rejoice with all my heart and give thanks to God that I am hated by the Devil and his squamous brood.'¹⁶

The full title of the work is: *Tessaradecas Consolatoria pro laborantibus et oneratis M. Lutheri Aug. Vittenbergensis*.¹⁷ Steinhäuser¹⁸ translates this *The Fourteen of Consolation, for such as labour and are heavy laden*. Henry Cole¹⁹ rendered it as *The Consolatory Tesseradecad*. Spalatin's title is a paraphrase: *Ein Trostlichs Buchlein Doct. Martini Lutheri Augustiners. in aller widerwertigkeit eines ieden Christglaubigen menschen*; in the Berlin Edition it appears as: *Vierzehn Trostmittel für Mühselige und Beladene von M. Luther, Augustiner zu Wittenberg*.²⁰ There is an old English translation by W. Gace, published in 1578 by Thomas Vautroullier, with a companion volume of Luther's sermons. This was probably done from the German version by Spalatin. The quaint heading is: 'A right comfortable Treatise conteyning sundrye points of consolation for them that labour and are laden.'

Luther explains the meaning of his title in the Dedicatory Epistle. 'I have compiled these fourteen chapters in the form of an altar tablet and given them the name of *The Fourteen* so that they may replace the fourteen saints whom our superstition has created and called "The averters of all evils". This, however, is a tablet not silvern but spiritual, which is not meant to decorate the walls of a church, but to raise and strengthen the pious mind.'²¹ The *Tessaradecas*, then, is arranged after the fashion of an altar tablet. Many of the churches in Luther's day (including St. Mary's, at Torgau, where Frederick lived) were adorned with representations of the fourteen Helpers to whom people turned for succour in time of trouble. They were variously termed '*depulsores*', '*defensores*', '*auxiliores*', or, in German, '*Nothhelfer*'. The cult is said to have originated in Germany from the vision of a Franconian shepherd in the year 1446. The Christ-child appeared to him in the fields, surrounded by fourteen saints. The *Vierzehnheiligenkirche* at Staffelstein stands on the site and is a famous shrine for pilgrims. The names of the fourteen Helpers were: Acatius, Blasius, Christopher, Cyriacus, Dionysius, Egidius, Erasmus, Eustachius, George, Pantaleon, Vitus, Barbara, Catharine, and Margaret. Several of these saints are mentioned in Luther's sermons on the First Commandment (1516). Upon what principle the fourteen were chosen is not apparent.

¹⁵ W.A., VI.104.¹⁶ *ibid.*¹⁷ *ibid.*¹⁸ *Works of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia Edition), I.103.¹⁹ *Select Works of Martin Luther*, II.121.²⁰ W.A., VI.102. (Berlin Edition, VI.5.)²¹ W.A., VI.106.

Over against these fourteen saints of popular superstition Luther sets his fourteen consolations. This spiritual altar tablet is divided into two panels. The first contains the images, or paintings, of seven evils (*mala*); the second, of seven blessings (*bona*). Luther explains in the Preface that 'the Holy Scriptures minister consolation in a two-fold manner, by setting before us two images of things most wholesomely mingled together in due proportion, namely, evils and blessings, as the wise Preacher says, "In the day of evil remember the good and in the day of good remember the evil".'²² By contemplating the evils we realize how inconsiderable is our suffering compared with the sum total of evil, and by contemplating our blessings we are enabled to forget our present distresses.

III

In the following digest of the *Tessaradecas* Luther is allowed to speak, as far as possible, for himself in his own language. The extracts are directly translated from the Latin text as reproduced in the Weimar Edition of Luther's works, interpreted at doubtful points in the light of Spalatin's German version in the Berlin Edition.

The first part is divided into seven sections: (1) The Evil Within Us (*intra se*), (2) The Evil Before Us (*ante se*), (3) The Evil Behind Us (*post se*), (4) The Evil Beside Us on our Left Hand (*iuxta se in sinistro*), (5) The Evil Beside Us on our Right Hand (*iuxta se in dextro*), (6) The Evil Below Us (*infra se*), (7) The Evil Above Us (*supra se*).

(1) No external evil can compare with that which is within, i.e. sin. There are far more and greater evils within man than any that he feels without. Were he fully sensitive to inward evil, he would taste the tortures of hell, for he holds a hell within himself. Bodily sufferings are well described as the monitors of the evil within. God mercifully lays upon us these lighter evils at first, lest the full knowledge of evil should drive us to despair. He conceals this fuller realization of the sinfulness of sin so that we may discern it only by faith. 'Therefore the first image of consolation is that a man should say to himself: "Not yet, O man, dost thou feel thine evil; rejoice and give thanks that thou art not compelled to feel it." Thus the lesser evil grows light by comparison with the greatest. This is what others mean, when they say, "I have deserved far worse—even hell itself"—which is easy to say but intolerable to feel.'²³

(2) Present evil is alleviated by the contemplation of evils to come. These are so many, so various, and so great that from them has arisen one of the most powerful of human emotions, namely, fear. Fear has been defined as the sense of approaching evil. Men fear to lose their health, their wealth, their friends. Such fear increases with growing position and possessions (a word of particular warning to the Elector), for all worldly riches and honour hang by a slender thread, like the sword of Damocles. If none of these evils assail us, we are constrained to cry, 'It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed';²⁴ the consideration of future evil should make us grateful to God for the lightness of present affliction.

One future evil is quite inescapable—death. So great an evil is death that many would rather live on amidst all the other evils than die once to end them.

²² W.A., VI.106²³ *ibid.*, VI.108.²⁴ Lamentations 3²².

But for the Christian, as Cyprian teaches in his *De Mortalitate*,²⁵ death is desirable, and that for two reasons—that we may be delivered simultaneously from the evil within and the evil before. 'He loves God his Father but little who does not prefer the evil of death to this evil of sinning.'²⁶

(3) In this image, of the evil behind us, more than in the rest there shines forth the sweet mercy of God which is able to console us in every new distress. Never does a man feel the hand of God more closely upon him than when he recalls the yester-years. He looks back and sees how his whole life has been providentially overruled. Even if there were neither religious books nor sermons, our very life itself would abundantly commend to us the ever-present goodness of God, which, far above all that we thought or felt, bore us as it were in its bosom. Hence the repeated exhortation of Scripture to remember the days of old, which are intended to teach us that if God was with us in the past when we thought He was not, we should not doubt in the present, even though He seems to be far away.

(4) The first of the evils below us is death and the other is hell. The solemn consideration of the deaths with which other sinners have been punished will convince us that we suffer far less than we deserve. Luther here expounds a view of satisfaction that he no longer held in 1535. He proceeds to press home the same argument with reference to the torments of hell.

(5) The evil on our left hand is that which befalls our foes. But, first, we are asked to contemplate the evil which would have been inflicted upon us by our adversaries had they not been restrained by the providence of God. Once again Luther reminds the Elector that his exalted station brings with it increase of outward evil, for he is more exposed than others to the intrigues of his enemies.

The common evils of humanity are the more serious for our foes since they stand outside the communion of saints. They are in sin and unbelief, under the wrath of God and the dominion of the Devil, the bondslaves of impiety and sin. This misery of theirs must so disturb the pious Christian that his own troubles will seem delights beside them. Following the example of Christ Himself, he should pray for his enemies and seek to rescue them from their evil plight. Unfortunately we do not always seize the opportunity to show such mercy and compassion because our heart's eye is not sufficiently clear for us to see how great is the ignominy and misery of those who are overthrown by sin, that is, separated from God and in the Devil's possession. Paul was prepared to become anathema and be blotted out of the book of life himself if only such might be liberated, and Christ our Lord so burned with love and pity when He died for sinful men that He descended into hell, leaving us an example that we should follow in His steps.

(6) The evils on the right hand are those endured by our friends, the contemplation of which will fortify us for the fight. 'Resist the Devil, steadfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world.'²⁷ The example of the saints should move us to bear our evils patiently; otherwise festivals, altars, memorials, images, etc., to the saints are reduced to the level of superstition. We must not complain that suffering seems to be distributed unequally. The burden is always measured to the back. Where there is greater evil, there is also more Divine aid and a happier issue.

²⁵ Cap. 5.

²⁶ W.A., VI.110.

²⁷ 1 Peter 5⁹.

In a further paragraph that he might well have revised, had he cared, Luther meets the objection of the man who argues, 'But my suffering cannot be compared with that of the saints; they suffer for their innocence, I for my sins', and declares that such a man ought to rejoice in so far as through his sufferings his sins are being purged away.

(7) The supernal evil, the evil above us, is that which Christ suffered on the Cross. In a chapter worthy of St. Bernard himself, Luther asserts that no human evil can compare with what our Lord endured in His Passion and Death. 'Lastly, let us lift up our hearts and ascend with the Bride to the mountain of myrrh. This is Jesus Christ the Crucified, the Head of all the Saints, the Chief of Sufferers, concerning whom many have written many things, and all most fitly. His memory is commended to the Bride, when it is said: "Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a signet upon thine arm." The blood of this Lamb, signed upon the threshold, wards off the destroying angel. By Him the Bride is commended, because "her hair is like the purple of a king" (that is, her meditation glows red with the remembrance of Christ's Passion). This is that tree, which Moses was ordered to consign to the waters of Marah, that is, the bitterness of suffering, and they were made sweet. There is nothing which this Passion does not sweeten, not even death, as the Bride says: "His lips are lilies, distilling choice myrrh." What likeness is there between lips and lilies, since the one are red and the other white? But this she says in a mystical sense, signifying that the words of Christ are most clear and pure, with nothing in them of blood-red bitterness or livid spite, but sweet and mild; nevertheless, in them He distils, and indeed instils, choice and chosen myrrh (that is, most bitter death). These most pure lips and sweet are potent to make the bitterest death, which (like the choice myrrh) once for all removes the corruption of sin, sweet, bright, fair and acceptable. How is this done? Assuredly, when you hear that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has, by His most holy touch, so consecrated and sanctified all sufferings, even death itself, has so blessed the curse, glorified shame and enriched poverty, that death has perforce been made a gate of life, the curse a fount of blessing, and shame the parent of glory. How, then, can you be so obstinate and ungrateful as not to choose and cherish all sorts of sufferings, after they have been touched by Christ's most pure and hallowed flesh and blood and made to you holy, harmless, healthful, blessed and joyful? . . . O that we could gaze upon the heart of Christ, when, hanging on the Cross, He took such pains to show death itself to be dead and worthy only of contempt! How ardently and graciously He embraced death and punishment on our behalf, who timidly tremble before them! How willingly He drank this cup before us invalids, so that we need not dread to drink it after Him! For we perceive that nothing evil happened to Him, but only good, in His Resurrection. Could we but gaze upon all this, without doubt that choice myrrh, distilling on Christ's lips and commended by His words, would become most agreeable and delightful to us, even as the fragrance and fairness of lilies. Thus Peter says in 1 Peter 4: "Forasmuch as Christ hath suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind." And Paul, Hebrews 12: "Consider Him that endured such contradiction of sinners against Himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds." ²⁸

²⁸ W.A., VI.117-19.

IV

The second part also contains seven images, arranged according to the same pattern as the first, and answering to them: (1) The Internal Blessing (*de bono interno*), (2) The Future Blessing (*de futuro*), (3) The Past Blessing (*de praeterito*), (4) The Infernal Blessing (*de inferno*), (5) The Blessing on the Left Hand (*de sinistro*), (6) The Blessing on the Right Hand (*de dextro*), (7) The Supernal Blessing (*de superno*).

(1) Who is able to count his many blessings? They are more than can be numbered. To the endowments of the body God adds the gifts of mind and heart—reason, knowledge, judgement, fluency of speech, prudence. We must not, however, be surprised or offended to find that some bitterness is mingled with these blessings, for even the gourmand agrees that no dainty is savoury without salt. 'What is it, then, that God commends to us here, but that the Cross is a source of wonder even to its enemies, so that all things must none the less be tempered and hallowed by its relics, lest they perish, as meat must be seasoned with salt lest it breed worms? Why, therefore, will we not readily accept this tempering sent from God, which, did He not send it, our own life, enfeebled by pleasures and blessings, would itself require?'²⁹ Luther then quotes the 'golden saying' of Job: 'Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?'³⁰

But the best blessing within is faith in Christ. Just as no external evil can prove worse than the evil within, i.e. sin, so no external blessing can surpass the blessing within, i.e. faith. If the sinner has hell within, the believer has heaven within. 'For to have faith is to have the truth and the Word of God; and to have the Word of God is to have God Himself, the Creator of all.'³¹

(2) Christians share the common hope of all men in the passing of evil and the advent of good. But, in addition, the very greatest future blessings await them, although only through suffering and death. The Christian finds blessing even in death: for through death the curtain is rung down on the whole tragedy of life's pain and evil, and at the same time an end is made of sins and vices. 'Hence death is already dead to believers and holds nothing more of dread beyond its mien and mask.'³² Since the evils of the soul are more deadly than the evils of the body, the Christian should desire death more because it does away with sin than because it does away with suffering. Death is God's appointed instrument for the abolition of sin. Through sin, death entered the world; but against sin God arms none other than this same death again, so that sin is ultimately destroyed by its own fruit.

(3) The consideration of this image—the blessing behind us—is not hard in view of its counterpart. The backward look reveals not only the evils which we have escaped, but also the positive blessings showered upon us by God's bounteous hand. It is good, as St. Augustine³³ does, to rehearse the benefits of God from the cradle onward. The remembrance of God's goodness to us in the past will reassure us in the present. 'Let Him care for thee, who made thee. He who cared for thee before thou wert, how shall He not care for thee now

²⁹ W.A., VI.120.

³¹ W.A., VI.121.

³³ *Confessionum libri tredecim*, Liber I, cap. 6.

³⁰ Job 210.

³² *ibid.*, VI.123.

thou art what He willed thee to be?"³⁴ But, says Luther, we try to divide the kingdom with God. To Him we allow (though often unwillingly and half-heartedly) that He made us, but to ourselves we arrogate the care of ourselves, as if He had made us and then immediately forsaken us and left the government in our own hands.

The contemplation of past blessing will drive us back on God in all things. It will help us to cast all our care on Him. 'O could a man attain to this knowledge of his God, how secure, how tranquil, how delightful would be his lot! He would in truth possess God, surely knowing that all that happened to him, whatever it might be, had come to him, and was yet coming, according to the outworking of His most sweet will. The statement of Peter stands firm: "He careth for you." What sweeter sound can we hear than this word? "Therefore", he says, "cast all your care on Him."'³⁵

(4) So far Luther has considered the blessings which are ours and found within ourselves. Now he turns to those blessings which are outside ourselves and found in others. The first of these belongs to those below us, the dead and damned. We may well wonder what blessing can possibly be discovered here. But the power of Divine goodness can discern blessings even in the greatest evils. First, as we compare such unfortunates with ourselves, we see how inestimable is our gain, as Luther has already shown in the corresponding image of evil. 'But let us compare them also with God Himself, so that in them we may see the Divine justice. Although this is a hard task, it must nevertheless be attempted. Now, since God is a just Judge, we must prize and praise His justice, and thus rejoice in God even when He utterly destroys the wicked in body and soul, because in all these things His supreme and ineffable justice shines forth. Accordingly, even hell is full of God and the supreme good, no less than heaven. For the justice of God is God Himself, and God is indeed the supreme good. Therefore, even as His mercy, so is His justice or judgement to be loved, praised, and proclaimed above all things.'³⁶

(5) The blessing on the left hand refers to our adversaries. In them we are to find a two-fold blessing. The first is that they abound in temporal goods, so that even the palmists and prophets were moved to envy them. But for us as Christians, the blessings which we see in the wicked incite us to hope for the blessings which are not seen and to condemn the evils we now suffer. The other blessing, which is even more remarkable, is this: that the evils planned by our adversaries are actually turned into blessings for us under the providence of God. For though their sins are a stumbling-block to the weak, to the strong they are an exercise of virtue and an occasion for spiritual combat and victory, which will gain us greater merit. Once again, Luther uses an argument which, no doubt, he would have emended at a later date. But his main point is not affected by this medieval view of merit. What he wishes to impress upon us is that those who injure us are really our greatest benefactors did we but know it.

(6) The right-hand blessing refers to the Church, which is God's new creation. Those who have unjustly accused Luther of neglecting the doctrine of the Church should weigh this chapter. After a close exposition of Paul's parable of the body and its members in 1 Corinthians 12, he concludes: 'So

³⁴ *idem*, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, XXXIX.27. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXXVI.450.)

³⁵ *W.A.*, VI.126.

³⁶ *ibid.*, VI.127.

great a thing is the communion of saints and the Church of Christ.³⁷ He shows that the one is involved in the other. "This is what we say in the Creed: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church." What is it to believe in the Holy Church except to believe in the communion of saints? Now, what do the saints hold in common? Surely it is blessings and evils; all things belong to all, just as the Sacrament of the Altar symbolizes in the bread and wine, where we are all said by the Apostle to be one body, one bread, one cup.³⁸ There is a memorable picture of the dying Christian faring forth into the great unknown, not in fearful loneliness, but triumphantly accompanied by the whole Church of God. 'For Christ does not wish us to venture alone into the valley of death, in which all men quake with fear, but we embark upon the pathway of pain and death escorted by the whole Church, and the Church bears the brunt on our behalf.'³⁹

(7) The seventh image is 'Jesus Christ, the King of Glory, rising from the dead, even as in His Passion and Burial He was the seventh image of evils.'⁴⁰ The *Tessaradecas* ends on a trumpet-note of Resurrection triumph. It thrills with the authentic Easter joy. It catalogues the inestimably precious blessings that Christ has obtained for us by His rising again.

Such blessings are so incredible that the mind of man dare scarcely believe that they could become ours did not Christ actually bring them home to our hearts in our own experience. This inward assurance Luther quaintly likens to Joseph's wagons which convinced the incredulous Jacob that his long-lost son was alive. 'This is certainly a most delightful wagon, that He is made unto us of God righteousness and sanctification and redemption and wisdom, as the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians 1. For I am a sinner, but I am borne in His righteousness, which is given to me; I am foul, but His sanctity is my sanctification, in which I pleasantly ride; I am a simpleton, but His wisdom conveys me; I am worthy of condemnation, but His redemption is my liberty, a wagon in which I sit secure. So that a Christian (if only he believes it) may boast of all the merits of Christ and His blessings no less than if he had won them all himself; they are so truly his own that he may even dare to look forward to the judgement of God, unbearable though it be, with perfect tranquillity. So great a thing is faith, such blessings does it bring us, such a glorious son of God does it make us.'

This is the highest image of all, by which we are lifted not only above our evils, but above our blessings, too, and set down amidst Another's blessings, i.e. in Christ's righteousness instead of our own. As it is impossible that Christ, with His righteousness, should not please God, so it is equally impossible that we should not please Him with our faith whereby we cling to Christ's righteousness. 'Hence it comes about that a Christian is almighty, lord of all, having all things and doing all things, entirely without sin.'⁴¹ On such exalted notes of faith, of assurance, of reliance on Christ's righteousness, of Christian perfection, the *Tessaradecas* reaches its climax and conclusion.

³⁷ W.A., VI.131.

³⁸ *ibid.*, VI.131-2.

³⁹ *ibid.*, VI.132.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ *ibid.*, VI.133. This sentence is the nucleus of Luther's *Concerning Christian Liberty* (1520), which he based on two propositions: 'A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none.' 'A Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one.' (Berlin Edition, I.295.)

V

The *Tessaradecas* achieved immediate popularity. It was favourably received by the Elector. It was praised in the highest terms by Spalatin. The numerous editions through which it passed, both in Latin and in German, bespeak its general appeal. Five Latin editions appeared in the first two years and by 1525 there were seven German editions. In 1521 a translation was published in Antwerp for the Netherlands, and we have already noted the English version of 1578. The *Tessaradecas* elicited high praise from Erasmus. He recommended it to Bishop Christopher of Basle. 'I am sending you Highness Luther's book on the fourteen images which has gained the greatest approbation even from those who are in every way opposed to his doctrine.'⁴² Mathesius, Luther's own disciple and biographer, declared that never before had such comfortable words been written in the German language. Even the Franciscan, Lemmans, praised its 'beautiful and Catholic thoughts'.⁴³ Luther himself must have cherished a special affection for it, since he particularly requested the return of his manuscript from Spalatin for his own personal consolation.

More recently, Beard has written appreciatively of this 'quaint little treatise of practical theology',⁴⁴ whilst Kuhn has given it honourable mention in his monumental work.⁴⁵ Köstlin says it is 'full of reflection and wisdom'⁴⁶ and Steinhäuser regards it as 'one of his finest and tenderest devotional writings, and, in conception and execution, one of the most original of all his works'.⁴⁷

What is its value today? Is it no more than an interesting historical document affording evidence as to the evolution of Luther's theological views? Even as such it is not without importance. Is it valuable merely as giving us a glimpse of the living heart of Luther, revealing beneath all the turmoil of this *Sturm-und-Drangperiode* of his career an inner core of peace and quiet trust in God? This in itself is of considerable significance as a corrective to current misconceptions of Luther's character. But can no more be said? Has the *Tessaradecas* no claim to recognition in its own right? Surely it has. Is it not entitled to a place of honour amongst the devotional classics of the Christian Church? It is by no means without fault. No one realized that better than Luther himself. We may regret that he did not see fit to rewrite it in accordance with his developed outlook. There are passages of outworn medievalism which would have received much-needed correction. There is a flavour of mysticism which the later Luther would no doubt have sought to mitigate—for, despite Wesley's strictures,⁴⁸ Luther was not so 'deeply tintured with mysticism' as has often been supposed. The lay-out may seem artificial to us today and the presentation is at times naïve and immature.

But when all the weaknesses of the work have been enumerated and considered, are they not far outweighed by its merits? Even so harsh a critic as Grisar is constrained to confess that in Luther's works of edification two qualities are united which are rarely found in combination. The first is a wealth of ideas suggested by reminiscences, now of the Bible, now from the pages of

⁴² Erasmus, op. cit., 816.

⁴³ op. cit., p. 308.

⁴⁴ *Life of Luther*, p. 133.

⁴⁵ *Journal of John Wesley* (Standard Edition), II.467. cf. also Philip S. Watson, *Let God be God!* p. 101 (n.107), for a valuable comment on this point.

⁴⁶ Quoted in the Philadelphia Edition, I.107.

⁴⁷ *Luther, sa Vie et son Oeuvre*, I.387-8.

⁴⁸ Philadelphia Edition, I.105.

human life. The second is Luther's wonderful imagination which enables him to clothe all he has to say in the most attractive dress the more easily to win his way into the hearts of his readers.⁴⁹ Both those qualities are prominent in the *Tessaradecas*. There is a rich fertility of thought that always displays its Scriptural origin. The whole tissue and tegument of this treatise is Biblical. Moreover, it breathes the very spirit of piety. At times, as we have seen, it reads like a page from St. Bernard, or from Luther's own beloved Augustine. Yet, whilst some cobwebs of medievalism still cling to it, it is even more remarkable for its evangelical fervour. Too much can be made of the distinction between the earlier and later Luther, and even in this comparatively early work he lays foundations that are firmly Protestant.

Is there not room for the *Tessaradecas* on the shelf that houses the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, the *Imitatio Christi* and Law's *Serious Call*? Should it not be included in any modern counterpart of Wesley's *Christian Library*? This little gem of devotion has suffered through long neglect. It is almost unknown and, unhappily, unavailable to the Christian reading public of Britain today. But he who seeks it out will find that Luther's pious wish was not in vain: 'that the diligent reading and consideration of these images may administer some small comfort.'⁵⁰

A. SKEVINGTON WOOD

⁴⁹ H. Grisar, *Luther*, IV.482.

⁵⁰ *W.A.*, VI.106.

THE END OF AN AGE

THESE ARE days of revolution. The world as we have known it is in dissolution. The leaders of violent revolution know this. They have grasped more clearly than we that the world has come to the end of an age and that any attempt to shore up the walls of the old European order is doomed to failure. They are acting accordingly. They propose to clear the site and erect a building of quite different design. And they are proceeding with assurance and every appearance of success. If we have nothing to offer the world but an estimate for repairs and renovations to the old order, we shall be completely out of the running. Neither revival nor reform are adequate conceptions of the task now before us. Christian Revolution is the only alternative to Materialist Revolution.

Western Civilization is the child of a marriage which took place 1,600 years ago—the marriage of the Roman Empire and the Christian Church. That alliance shaped the future both of Christianity and of European society.

In the apostolic age the Christian Faith had been the ferment of new life in the old order. It set up new values, created new relationships between man and man, and pioneered a way of living from which there might have been born a civilization of a new kind. The early Church was never revolutionary in the sense that it directly challenged existing institutions and authorities. But it was revolutionary in the far deeper sense that its Faith and Way of Life challenged at every point the ideas and standards on which existing society rested.

Long before Constantine's day the first tremendous impact of the Christian Faith on society was weakening. But so long as the Church remained a persecuted (or at least an unauthorized) body, the note of challenge remained. The Christian community saw itself and was seen by others as the salient of a New World thrust deep into the Old. But from the moment that the Church became the recognized ally of the Roman State the position changed. The Church assumed more and more the role of preserver of the existing society rather than the creator of a new. And the existing society was, of course, essentially authoritarian, i.e. it depended for its stability on people keeping their places and doing what they were told. Within that framework the Church rendered invaluable service. It provided the moral qualities and discipline needed if the framework was to hold together, and it helped to shape for Europe a civilization higher in many respects than any the world had yet known. Broadly speaking, however, the Church had retreated from the task of transforming society and was content to moralize it. The dream of a community shaped out of new loving relationships between man and man and depending for its stability on the inner discipline of obedience to God faded. Indeed the Church itself absorbed increasingly into its own life and practice the conceptions of external authority, power, and discipline on which the secular community rested. The answer to the conflict between authority and freedom, community and individual, which Christianity could have brought, was lost and forgotten for centuries to come. The present world situation and the break-up of Christendom is the direct result of that loss.

The alliance between Church and Empire had another far-reaching consequence. It deepened and hardened the distinction between sacred and secular, spiritual and material. Already, as the Church came more and more

under the influence of Greek Philosophy, this dualism was invading Christian thought. The alliance of Church and Empire gave it practical shape. There were large areas of life in which the Emperor had no intention that the Church should meddle and to which he had no thought of applying Christian standards. Increasingly the Church acquiesced. In practice, if not in theory, Church and World shared out man's life between them. The revolutionary truth of the Incarnation, which brought God into the most intimate details and relationships of human life, making them the chosen medium of God's self-revelation, was obscured. And the claim of Christ to redeem and reshape the whole of man's life and affairs was silently discarded. Christendom was built on this compromise. Beneath the apparent unity of the Medieval Order man's life was divided between two standards and two loyalties. One day they were bound to conflict. Their clash has now rent Western Civilization from top to bottom. Materialism and Christianity must now fight it out to the end for the body and soul of Mankind. The forces which finally disrupted the Medieval Order were born out of the heart of the Church itself. Though for centuries the Church had accepted a largely preservative role in society, its faith was essentially creative and could not remain at peace with any order which resisted change. Long-pent forces broke through at last in two great explosions of the human spirit, the Renaissance and the Reformation.

But here is the tragedy of the modern world. The Christian faith released in men's hearts mighty impulses which the Christian Church at that time was not equipped to control. A Church whose life and thought had for centuries been shaped to a largely static and preservative role possessed no secret for guiding a world in revolution. And because it had in practice abdicated the claim to transform the whole of man's life and work after the mind of Christ, the Church could do little to mould the enterprises and activities of the new age. Two grave consequences followed on these failures. The demand for freedom and change, lacking guidance into right channels, shattered the old order without providing the means for building a new. It splintered society into the innumerable fragments of modern individualism, but could not put them together again. It produced no new recipe for community except the naïve belief that a lot of individuals running energetically where their own interests and whims dictated, would somehow be found to be marching together to the millennium. The other consequence of the Church's inability to guide the forces it had released was the growth of a new materialistic order engulfing more and more of man's life and menacing the life of his spirit. The mercantile age (and later industrial society) were shaped by aims and motives far from Christian. Now their sheer materialism has all but swallowed up the spiritual impulses without which a free society cannot function. Thus the forces at work in the modern world, which at first seemed so full of vitality and promise, have turned out to be forces of revolt rather than regeneration, disrupting the old order without creating the new. Even the great experiment of Democratic Government, which has for a century held out to the world the hope of freedom with order, is in serious peril. Without some fresh spiritual impetus and support it cannot go on working much longer.

Here, then, we stand today confronted by the greatest task which has ever faced one generation. The disintegration of Western Civilization, which began

seven hundred years ago, has reached its dreadful climax. The old civilization lies in ruins. We may, if we choose, try to drag the debris together into some sort of rough shelter for a little longer, hoping that it may last our time. Or we may face boldly the task which the Medieval Church failed to accomplish, and which the self-sufficient individualism of the modern age has still more dismally failed to retrieve. We may accept the challenge to provide the world with a living, working alternative both to the old authoritarian order and to the chaos of individualism. Failing that alternative, the masses of mankind, craving security more than freedom, will choose the shelter of the all-embracing authoritarian State rather than be left isolated and helpless amid the confusion of the modern world. We shall see in our time either the emergence of a far more Christian Civilization or a vast regression in the life of Mankind.

To build the future we shall have to reach back to the past—back behind the compromise on which our semi-Christian civilization was based. We must recover and reapply those elements in the Christian faith which made it in its earliest days essentially revolutionary and creative. There are three such principles which are of special importance for our task today.

1. The Christian Gospel was not primarily a new teaching. It was the proclamation of an event. The Incarnation marked a fresh invasion of God into human history. It was God's D-Day. He had launched a plan for re-making the world and was at work on it. It is true that most Christians expected God's work to occupy a few short years and to be completed by a kind of spiritual *coup d'état*. But their faith was not based on this time-table. God at work on His New Creation was the focus of early Christian thinking. The Christian was called not merely to live by higher standards, but to co-operate in God's Plan. He was to act under God's orders communicated through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

This emphasis gave to the Christian community certain characteristics indispensable to a free society. It was flexible and developing. It was not organized according to a pattern laid down once for all, but was being continuously moulded by God's creative Spirit to new and unforeseeable shape. It was disciplined, but not so much by the authority of its leaders as by the inner obedience of its members to the voice of God. And it was united by the conviction that the mind of God could be known in every situation and for each course of action. They might differ and dispute, but the early Christians firmly believed that by waiting on God they could together find the right way.

These are the essentials of a free society. Democracy, as we have known it, has been built on the assumption that argument and discussion are the way to truth and that the clash and conflict of opposing opinions and parties is the secret of good government. But Democracy on that basis alone is proving dangerously inadequate to the new tasks and perils of our day. Under the extreme pressure of crisis 'Too little and too late' is threatening to become Democracy's epitaph. If Freedom is to survive, we must learn how to reach a common mind, how to unite above our differences, how to discipline ourselves and how to change without violent revolution. The conviction that the practical, detailed guidance of God is available in politics, industry, and all the affairs of life and our determination to seek it together provide the only means by which these ends can be achieved.

2. The second vital truth we have to recover is that the Christian life is not based on morality, but on miracle. The 'New Man in Christ' is not an improved edition of his predecessor, but a new departure—the new type of humanity out of whom the New World is to be made. The Christian is not just a better man, but a man set free from self and fear, liberated and remotived.

It is becoming plainer every day that radical change in human nature offers the only way to a new world. Great progress has been made in social justice. In industry conditions have improved out of recognition. An impressive body of International Law has come into being and extensive machinery for arbitration has been set up. But none of these has arrested the swift deterioration of the situation into suicidal conflict. Our human attempts to build a new world are bedevilled again and again by the fears, resentments, and passions of the human heart, and these do not arise only from past wrongs, bad conditions, and ignorance. They go hand in hand with man's desire to GET. While men are on the get for money, place, or power, they are never rid of the shadow of fear or free of the poisoned air of resentment. These only disperse when a man moves right over from GET to GIVE. And that is the supreme revolution which the Church of Christ exists to bring about. Nothing less is any hope at all. We have been too long content to moralize man's 'getting', if we could! Now through the power of Christ we must release into the world that passion of selfless giving which alone banishes fear, heals resentment and creates a new climate of trust between man and man. We must work this miracle, or fail humanity in its bitter need.

3. The other truth which has to be recovered and reapplied is that the Church of Christ holds in its heart the one secret of a society which is both free and ordered. And that secret lies not in its institutions, but in its fellowship—the power to create right relationships and through them a fully co-operative society. The planners are producing endless blue-prints for reorganizing society on co-operative lines. None of them will reach the assembly line without more men and women who create unity and teamwork, wherever they are, because they care for people, forget themselves, and know how to give themselves in a common task. The early Church was the growing point of a new kind of human society, because its members had discovered the secret of fellowship. They built bridges over the deep dividing gulfs between Jew and Greek, Roman and Barbarian, slave and free man. Over those bridges the ancient world found its way into the more comprehensive community of Christendom. Our most urgent task today is to build those bridges of fellowship over the yawning gulfs which divide the modern world, so that our tortured generation may find its way into the peace and security of a yet more Christian Community. Without these bridges, society today must either fall to pieces or submit to Dictatorship.

We have reached a turning point in history. It is our destiny and our privilege to open a new and momentous page. We may, if we prove worthy, write on it more clearly than Christian men have yet done, the Mind of Christ. We may release for the world more fully than ever before the creative power of the Spirit of God, so that the End of an Age becomes indeed the beginning of a New!

CECIL H. ROSE

Notes and Discussions

PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH:
A CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGIAN

IT HAS TAKEN a second World War to bring to light the significance of what P. T. Forsyth saw clearly as the issues whilst the first World War was still raging. This is in itself evidence enough of his prophetic insight, and spiritual sensitivity. The prophet is not only without honour in his own country, but often, also, in his own day. Such is the truth in the case of P. T. Forsyth. He is in the view of many the only considerable theologian that this country has produced during this century. Yet his work to date is known to the few alone.

During his early days he shared the liberal optimism which was the fashion of theological thought toward the close of the last century and the beginning of this. But that optimism landed him, where it has landed so many since, in despair. The spiritual experience which led him from liberal optimism through tragic despair to theological realism is not on record, but the period of transition seems to have covered four or five years. Then began that output of volume after volume which comprise a complete theological library in themselves—a library, alas, possessed by few, but, happily, likely soon to be acquired by many, for the rediscovery of P. T. Forsyth has led to a new edition of all his works.

His book, *The Justification of God*,¹ which is already on the market, should be bought by all readers of theology, if for no other reason than that they may disinfect their minds against the effects of the pollution which has been the result of so much of that which, in modern literature, passes for theology. Many whose capacity for close reasoning and high thinking has been impaired by the pretty theories supported by wishful thinking, which has marked so much of the modern output of theological writing, will find *The Justification of God* an exacting and sometimes even painful effort, for Forsyth demands our attention for his every adjective, and every preposition. But it will prove an abundantly rewarding effort, opening for many a thousand windows through which will blow the breezes of Calvary and of the Galilean Hills, and from the commanding position of the Forsythian watch-tower will be seen vistas of past triumphs and of future glory hid from the eyes of those who inhabit the plains.

When I say that Forsyth demands an effort, that is not because his writing is not lucid. It is. It is easy and fluent, full of memorable phrases, and often, even lyrical. But his thought is massive, and his subject so immense, that the air on those heights is sometimes apt to become too rarefied for those whose excursions into theology never take them higher than the South Downs. Ben Nevis and Snowdon take it out of such men, and there is no funicular railway giving access to these heights. But let the attempt be made, even if only in the spirit of a holiday adventure. For there is a lure in those heights which will cause many to return with increasing delight and ever-decreasing exertion.

In *The Justification of God* Forsyth's theme is the meaning of history. It is

¹ Published by Latimer House Ltd., with a Foreword by the Rev. D. R. Davies.

characteristic of the man that when other minds were swamped with the immediate events of defeating the Kaiser's Germany, his whole being should have been absorbed with the significance that that ripple on the eternal ocean might be expected to produce. Others saw the war from the foot of Hill 60, but he from the elevation of Calvary. Eternity spans the difference in their viewpoints. For what humans regard as world shattering is, *sub specie aeternitatis*, but a breath. It is not surprising therefore that those who have written with the earth in their eye have become out-dated and obsolete, whilst Forsyth appears today fresher than ever.

His statement of the expectations of popular religion, and his prophecy of the fate of those expectations, are the history in advance of the past thirty-two years. No mean achievement. But its value is enhanced to the observant reader, for he himself can learn of Forsyth the basis upon which his prediction was made. The decline in organized religion, which surprised those who fancifully thought that the extremities of war would reduce the nation to its knees, was anticipated by Forsyth, who said then, in 1916, that the war 'must create in many minds, whose faith has owed more to Christian culture than to its moral Gospel, something beyond a doubt—a denial, of a God and Providence in the world'.

Conscious as he was that the popular religion of his day was anthropocentric, and that such a religion could be expected to produce nothing higher or more durable than a mere Christian culture, he sets himself the task of exploding the theological basis of this anthropocentric vogue. 'For what is the tacit understanding in current religion which leaves it at the mercy of social or other convulsions? It is man's preoccupation with humanity and its spiritual civilization and culture. It is the religious egoism of Humanity, i.e. man's absorption with himself, instead of with God, His purpose, His service, and His glory. It is a greater anxiety to have God on our side than to be upon His. We are willing to owe many things to God, only not ourselves and our destiny absolutely.'

This preoccupation on the part of religion with humanity, he claims, occasioned as it is by false views of God, results in shattered faith, hopeless despair, and wholesale cynicism, when once the illusion of a kindly providence has been exploded through the results of machine gun, torpedo, and bomb. 'If God permit my heart-break He shall have no room in my faith. If He put out the light of my home, He is too heartless for my heart. If He permit the wreck, by its own unsupported weight, of anything which my heart calls so good as humanitarian civilization, He is no God for worship of mine. How can I trust such a God?'

Such cries are prompted by two complementary fallacies about love. First, that it is enjoyment. And, second, that love, when it becomes holy love, has no duties or sacrifices to itself. The judgement of history, of which both wars were examples, underlines the inevitable results of embracing these fallacies. It might be reasoned, and with no little justification, that it was inopportune to discuss the frame of mind which gave rise to humanity's lamentation and bitter weeping, whilst the sob was still in its throat, and the wounds still open in its heart. 1906 rather than 1916 was the time to be saying these things. Maybe. But the ancient prophets showed no such squeamishness when they

addressed themselves to a nation in captivity, or when the ranks of the chosen people had been decimated by wars which their sins had invited. But, in any case, 1948 is a date propitious enough for such reflections.

So we reflect. First on the duties and sacrifices that holy love owes to itself. Forsyth is at his best here, heaping question upon question, affirmation upon affirmation, like a series of sticks of dynamite blasting huge chunks out of the mountains of misconceptions and unfaith. Having charged the nation with making light of its moral problem, and of ridiculing as theological the warning of those preachers who had not lost their Gospel in their culture, he flashes forth, 'Now God enters the pulpit, and preaches in His own way, with deeds. And His sermons are long and taxing, and they spoil the dinner.' This, as he shows, is not caprice on God's part; much less indifference to human pain and suffering. But holy love if it is to remain holy love, owes something to itself. At the centre of that which it owes to itself is the fact that it can never be indifferent to sin, cost what it may to man, seeing that it cost so much to God. So 'we are bidden to recognize that God's demand on man takes the lead of man's demand on God. And both are overruled by God's demand on God. God's meeting His own demand.' The meaning of history, therefore, has its roots in God's self-justification.

Once that is acknowledged 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' can no more pierce a man's armour. God is no longer justified in the eyes of a believer by what goes on in the world as seen through human eyes, but rather by what is happening in God's own divine heart. Only those who are equipped with the knowledge of God's need for self-justification can trace the ways of God through the world of men, and recognize a divine teleology both for the soul and the race.

It is from this position and this position alone, that we can see what 'in the egoist conditions of Europe and of civilization everywhere, and with a God of holy love over all, the scandal and stumbling block would have been if such judgements did not come. We would not feel that the world was in righteous hands.' Calamity, such as has befallen Europe, confirms faith; substantiates God's intimate relation with His world; echoes the assurance of Christ that 'My Father worketh hitherto'. It is the vindication of divine providence; the assurance that the world of men has not been handed over to blind, amoral forces. God's in His heaven, *therefore* all may be wrong with the world. For if in a world of sin and perdition all were well with the world that would be the final proof that God had abdicated.

Here then is the meaning of the Cross. The justification of Calvary is much more than the justification of man—it is the justification of God.

One is tempted to quote *ad lib.* from such writing as this, for it is presumption for a reader to assume that he can do justice to the views of one whose own power of self-expression ranks so high. What, for example, could better express the Church's present need than this: 'The first work of the Church is to set her own house in order, to return to the Cross as the source of the spirit, to moralize her conceptions of the *Holy Spirit*, and by courting anew at such a Gospel her own regeneration, to acquire that of moral authority which gives practical power and historic weight to all her mystic insight and her sympathetic help. It is not help that either the Church or the world needs most.

It is life. It is moral regeneration. If the greatest boon in the world is Christ's Holy Father, the greatest curse is man's unfilial guilt. Whatever therefore undoes the guilt is the solution of the world. Everything will follow upon that peace and power.'

The Church's lamentable failure in the face of two world wars, and the circumstances which gave rise to them, was not inactivity. It is doubtful whether it was ever more active. What then? It was due to moral impotence: the absence in its life of that morality (if such be the word) which God demands of Himself. But that morality is learnt only at the Cross. 'And there are plenty who will think it extreme to extravagance, and even absurdity, when it is suggested that the first business of the Church to find its way in this world, is to go back and recover its footing in another, to return and readjust its compass at the Cross, to rise above both the precepts and the principles Christ taught to the power He put forth there for the world's regeneration, and to recover a Christian ethic, not interim but final, there—at the seat of Christian judgement unto moral reconciliation.'

Pause a moment, and be convinced that it is the occasion of crisis, not of stability in the world, through which God is revealed, and that His greatest revelation of Himself was vouchsafed to man through the world's crucial crisis, on Calvary's hill, through Christ's Cross. This is where Philosophy and Theology part company. Philosophy deals with but the ordered course or content of the world under its eye. It is alien to the idea of crisis and tragedy. It cannot therefore admit an absolute contradiction to the world's general success like sin. Of course, Philosophy has only been able to make out a case for an ordered universe by treating sin as no more than crude instincts unduly prolonged. Sin is an anomaly, grossly exaggerated both as to its prevalence and to its results. Considered by reference to the orderliness of life in general it is but a speck of dust in the eye—seemingly mountainous, most annoying, and temporarily very painful, but due, sometime, to be washed away by the inevitable processes of nature. On the whole therefore it is only fair to stress that the world is orderly and mostly benevolent. ON THE WHOLE! But people do not live their lives 'on the whole', but personally, and personal pain, suffering and sin, still remain the biggest things in the life of those who are experiencing them, however void of these the rest of the world may be. 'Our faith in God's care for the individual does not arise from our faith in His care for the whole. It is the other way.'

Unfortunately, the theology of the last hundred years, until quite recently, had tended more and more to explain sin and suffering in this way—a mere clot that can become absorbed in the circulation. Not as something that involves death and rising again in a new creation. Indeed it might, by due skill, even be shown to have been, to the great process of things, a blessing in deep disguise.

But as Forsyth points out: 'The defect of this view is that it is theosophic and not theological, because it has more philosophy than gospel, and it is less than scriptural. It begins with a wisdom and not with a work, with an impressive theory rather than a saving fact. It starts not from the Cross but from a scheme of the world suffused with Christ and taking the Cross by the way, as if a point might come when it might be forgotten in the larger consummation.' How

facile and fallacious this view appears when we remember that the overthrow of evil cost God His life on the Cross! It is but to trifle with Calvary.

And it is this habit of trifling with Calvary, of underestimating the Cross, which makes nonsense of life and destiny. Crisis, and pre-eminently the crisis of the Cross, holds the meaning of life, both as it is now to be lived, and as it will finally emerge. Through ignoring this the Church has lost its power—its power of reconciliation, and its power of judgement. For in the Cross is found both these powers. It is the Cross that attracts and repels. It cannot but do one or the other. To attempt to make it attractive through excluding its aspect of judgement and sentimentalizing its love is to make the Cross of none effect, and, paradoxically, to rob it of its attraction.

Even then in 1916 Forsyth claimed that it was precisely that which the Church for fifty years had been doing, which, he claimed, made the need of stressing the idea of judgement more urgent. First, as a corrective of the 'sweet and cheery type of religion which has all but banished the idea of judgement from Christian ethics, just as it deprecates the notions of atonement in its pious types'. Secondly, because 'the idea of judgement has in this last half century [1916] had more attention than result, which is due in part to the moral defect involved in its detachment from this idea of righteousness in the Cross of Christ'. Thirdly, because 'the awful events amid which we live can by no Christian mind be treated merely as the crunch of progress, as the grinding of the historical glacier turning a corner in its onward course. They are the evidences that East or West, the nations shall be cast into hell that forget a holy God'.

So on to that penetrating chapter on History and Judgement which concludes with the warning that the non-intervention of God bears very heavy interest, as we in the Western world know to our cost. But have we even yet learnt that God is greatly to be feared when He does nothing?

It is a long climb from where Forsyth starts, facing life as a problem, and pursuing it until it ends in a faith. But we have not reached the final pinnacle until we have arrived where he arrived, at the point where eternity conquers time, and God is all in all.

SELWYN GUMMER

FAITH AND EDUCATION

A Notable Ter-Jubilee: 1798-1948

A METHODIST started the ball rolling, one hundred and fifty years ago. He was a member of the Methodist New Connexion, which had been formed the previous year as an expression of a movement to secure a larger place for laymen in the service of the Methodist Church. This man, William Singleton, was assisted by Samuel Fox, a Quaker grocer, in opening in Nottingham in 1798 a School for Adults, at which reading could be taught to grown men and women. Once the letters were mastered, the text-book used

was the Bible. Fox would close his shop on Saturday evening earlier than did his neighbours so that his shop assistants, who comprised the main portion of the teachers, could be at the School at seven o'clock on the Sunday morning. The School was in session for two hours, after which Fox entertained the teachers to breakfast. Doubtless a full day at church or chapel followed.

It was a Methodist likewise who started the same work in Bristol, in 1812. William Smith was a door-keeper at a Wesleyan chapel. He was attending the second anniversary meeting at the Bristol Guild Hall of the local Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. There he heard a letter read in which it was stated that many people had been visited who, not being able to read, would not be any the better for having a Bible. If it be true that 'a need known and the power to meet that need, constitute a call', Smith was 'called' that day. He laid his concern before others, and at once began to canvass in one of Bristol's poorest quarters—the out-parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob. He took Bibles with him and when sales were refused on the ground of inability to read, he asked whether the recusants would like to learn. The same evening he secured premises—two rooms on loan. The first two persons to sign on were a man of sixty-three and a woman of forty. Smith earned eighteen shillings a week; he was soon paying three shillings of it to a substitute so as to free himself somewhat for the work of the School. He himself did not teach; he made the canvassing his work. Soon a society was formed. A Wesleyan minister, the Rev. Thomas Martin, gave valued assistance. The following year Dr. Thomas Pole, a Quaker, linked up. The movement became contagious, so that by 1816 there were fifty-five schools in the Bristol area alone. Others sprang up in London, Ipswich, Derby, Sheffield, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, and Liverpool. Ireland was reached by 1820 and within ten years had 407 Schools and fifteen thousand 'scholars'. These were the fruits of faith—faith that while men might still enter the Kingdom of Heaven in ignorance it was better that they should enter it otherwise.

It is not easy to estimate the deep influences which lay behind this unprecedented endeavour for adult education among the masses. Some have traced in it the effects of the French Revolution which at least stirred a new faith in man in spite of the fear also which its excesses engendered. It would be safer to say that it owed much to the impact of the Methodist Revival, since this had already altered the current of British religious and social life; it had brought real religion to the people, and the discovery that illiteracy cut them off from Biblical sources could not help but lead sooner or later to attempts to combat that illiteracy and open up the path for the spread of true scriptural Christianity.

There were difficulties, however, as well as successes in the path of progress. Many people were found 'willing to learn but too ashamed of their ignorance to come to school'. The situation was met by teaching them for a time in their homes. In other cases it was difficult to arouse real interest in the new learning. An interesting minute of the work at Gainsborough put it on record that 'a set of indefatigable visitors are as indispensably necessary to an adult establishment as the teachers' and that the visitors had to be able to meet 'very fertile and crafty excuses'. Experience taught them, however, 'never to give up any case as hopeless'.

The first enthusiasm seemed as time went by to be on the wane. In 1845, however, the Quaker faith of Joseph Sturge and William White started a new fire in Birmingham which spread rapidly across the country. By this time, too, the teaching of writing had been added to that of reading—though not without some opposition. Thus it was argued by some that such was no fitting occupation for the Sabbath. Indeed, it might easily lead to the writing of letters or even to amusement on the Lord's Day. Worse still, would not the practice increase the vice of forgery? The critics were silenced by the quaint argument that 'supposing the desire (for forgery) to be present, it would be a long time before scholars were proficient enough in the art to make it a real danger', or that 'writing was a great assistance to the memory' in learning Scripture passages and that it would eventually enable members to communicate with others, 'to impart serious counsel to an absent relative, or to leave something in manuscript for the benefit of their fellow-creatures'.

A much more formidable challenge came from outside the movement in 1870 with the passing of the Education Act. Was the work of the Adult Schools now over? It might have seemed so, but progressive spirits welcomed the new situation and expressed themselves as glad 'to be relieved from the necessity for teaching the mere elements of learning' and 'to start as it were with their scholars at a higher level'. Education came to be conceived as a life-long process. Bible study was added to Bible reading. The notable 'First Half-hours' were introduced—covering a wide variety of interests. For the women's schools came homecraft, child care, handicrafts. Above all came the deliberate aim to acquaint members with 'the best that had been thought and said and done in the world', and indeed to teach them to think for themselves. At the same time numerous forms of social service were encouraged and the desire for a better social order was clearly developing. The cultivation of the whole personality, indeed, was sought, as a proper expression of the religious view of education. Thousands graduated into public life from the resulting quality of the Adult School fellowship. Soon, too, an output of literature followed, notably the lesson-sheets and since the early years of this century the Adult School Lesson (now Study) Handbooks, known and used by clerics and laymen alike in all parts of the country.

The Education Act of 1944 has 'repeated history' in that it has again challenged the Adult School movement to move forward maybe in a fresh, certainly in a more clearly defined, direction than has been the case for some time. A critical estimate of its present service and opportunity has to take account of the fact that the movement was gravely weakened by the war of 1914-18 when it was well-nigh split on the Pacifist issue and its membership of 100,000 reduced by half. The Pacifist issue cannot be said to have affected it in the same way during the recent war of 1939-45, but the inevitable loss of personnel has come at a time when it could scarcely sustain a further reduction. Recent returns (in 1947) show a total of 675 schools in the United Kingdom, about half of which (336) are women's schools, about a quarter men's (179), and about a fifth mixed (136). Twenty or more of the last mentioned are young people's schools, covering the ages 16-30. The total membership is estimated at about 13,500.

The movement has survived two great crises in its history and there is

reason to believe that it will survive yet another, entering into its fourth phase with purpose and dignity. Much depends upon its corporate ability to see clearly its particular place and function in the new educational and religious environment. This is by no means so simple a matter as it was in the previous century when the schools could offer to the world a straightforward attainment—reading and writing—upon the desirability of which almost everybody was agreed, an attainment, moreover, which was easily measurable in its success (e.g. one of the rules of the Bristol schools read: 'That the learners be considered as having obtained the object of this Society when they can read distinctly and readily in the Bible: *and shall then be dismissed.*'). Today, when so much is offered by so many movements to so many people, distinguishing marks and measurable, specific functions are hard to come by. It wants some nice discrimination and acute foresight to say just what should and should not be attempted. The interest of Methodists in these matters may well be assumed not only because so many of their number are now engaged in the field of adult education (in this connexion Professor T. E. Jessop's recent book, *Evangelism and Education*, is timely) but because the ranks of the membership of the present Adult Schools contain many who maintain their membership in The Methodist Church and some who are actively engaged in Methodist work.

(a) In the field of education as such the Adult Schools are today one of many movements, by the majority of which they are somewhat understandably overshadowed. The intellectual needs of the community are widely provided for by the universities' extra-mural departments, by the Educational Centres Association and by the Workers' Educational Association, as well as by numerous educational provisions within bodies like the Co-operative movement whose purposes are not primarily educational. The Local Education Authorities are now empowered by the 1944 Act themselves to provide for adult needs, though in consultation with those who are already at work in that field. Some of these other bodies, notably the Workers' Educational Association and the Educational Centres Association, themselves grew quite considerably out of Adult School experience. Archbishop Temple acknowledged this when he said of the schools: 'In the early days of the Workers' Educational Association this movement was one of our most helpful sources alike of inspiration and of personal services.' Indeed many of the key persons in the Workers' Educational Association 'graduated' directly from the schools which on the intellectual plane they had in a sense outgrown. The Educational Centres were initiated by Adult School leaders who sought to carry forward adult facilities in terms of all-the-week educational settlements where expert tuition would be available on a wide choice of subjects. Meanwhile the Adult Schools continued to meet the needs of those who were at a more rudimentary level, and this is still largely the *stage* at which they seek to be useful. Large numbers of men and women in town and country are not ready or equipped to take advantage of advanced courses of lectures; they need the bread to be broken to them in assimilable quantities. They need also opportunity for simple exercise in self-expression and in disciplined though elementary personal reading, and in learning *together* as well as in individual effort. Those who outstrip their fellows may avail themselves of the more advanced facilities which other bodies can and

do provide, but for the most part 'their (the schools') best work is done among simpler folk and by more rudimentary study'.

There are differences, too, in *method*; in the Adult Schools, this is more generally that of 'associated study and mind-contact by conversation, question and answer'. This procedure is not followed exclusively or in opposition to the more academic classes, but as their complement. The *scope*, too, of education in the schools is somewhat distinctive in that it is comprehensive rather than intensive, that is to say—special effort is directed toward the ripening of judgment, the creating of true standards and the developing of the power of sustained and accurate thinking, rather than toward the mere acquirement of information on special subjects. And throughout all, emphasis is laid on the *spiritual* interpretation of life as a whole; education which is not based on and conducive to the deep religious impulses is not considered to be true education. So too the Study Handbooks aim always to bring all subjects of inquiry together into a spiritual whole rather than seeing them as scattered interests. Clearly there is a large contribution still to be made in the new educational environment by groups which operate on such a basis, at such a level, and by such a method. Doubtless the tendency will be toward smaller rather than larger groups, especially if these develop, as well they may, along informal lines in the *homes* of the people. 'An adult School in every street' has been suggested as a suitable target in the second half of the twentieth century.

(b) In the field of *religion* the picture is not so clear nor the task so capable of definition. It is true that a spiritual interpretation will continue to underlie the work as a whole, but there have been considerable changes in the theological outlook of the schools which reflect similar changes in the wider world. Like the Churches, the schools had their hey-day in the comparative age of faith characteristic of half a century or more ago. Indeed the schools, as we have said, were largely the product of denominational impulses—Methodist, Quaker, Baptist, and so on. Doubtless the main impetus came from Quakerism and hence Adult Schools have followed Friends in some disregard of statements of creed and intellectual forms and a corresponding emphasis on the freedom of the Spirit. Historically all the schools have regarded their basis as being not merely religious but essentially Christian. This is still broadly the case, but there has been a growing awareness that modern thought has presented considerable difficulties to many people in the way of accepting the Christian faith. And since no credal test is required of any member, welcome has always been extended to people of widely differing faith and of no faith at all. This may be a weakness or a strength according to the course which is followed in regard to the differences. The net result of theological diversity has so far been weakness.

No Statement of Aims has ever had formal approval from or been given official status by the movement, but for many years the following Nine Aims were generally adopted as expressing Adult School aspirations:

1. To make and develop men and women and to teach them the art of life.
2. To study the Bible frankly, freely, reverently, and without prejudice.
3. To establish an unsectarian basis for Christian effort and unity.
4. To bring together in helpful comradeship and active service the different classes of society.

5. To stimulate and educate public spirit and public morality.
6. To teach the responsibility of citizenship.
7. To encourage whatever makes for International Brotherhood.
8. To advance as far as may be the equality of opportunity.
9. To help men and women to understand and to live the life of Jesus Christ, and to encourage them in personal allegiance to Him.

In recent years this Statement has been under criticism within the movement. For some considerable time it had been felt that the aims did not give a true picture in that they ignored the fact that people of no special religious convictions were welcomed into the fellowship and were encouraged freely to express their opinions. Even the atheist has occasionally, though not often, been found in membership. It is contended, again, that it should not be necessary to have nine aims; would not a smaller number and a smaller statement suffice? Many younger people, moreover, while not in any open opposition to Christianity, do not wish to be committed *at the start* to the acceptance of Christian Faith, as might need to be the case if the Adult School were a Church; they wish first to *feel their way* toward a religious faith, even though they share with others the reverence for the life of Jesus. Other objections felt were, e.g., that the first aim was presumptuous and that greater humility would be fitting. Accordingly, in 1939, a shorter Statement of Aims was published (though again not officially sanctioned) and this has served many schools acceptably:

An Adult School seeks to create opportunities for the gaining of knowledge, the sharing of experience, the development of personality, the promotion of friendship, and an understanding of the Divine as revealed by Jesus.

Yet even this has not satisfied some for long and the theological issue has again been opened, in consequence of which a Standing Committee has this year issued the following:

Adult Schools are groups which seek on the basis of friendship to learn together and to enrich life through study, appreciation, social service and obedience to a religious ideal.

A special Ter-Jubilee Conference of members at Swanwick in May 1948 failed to produce a Statement binding the movement specifically to the Christian faith, though it emphasized that for *all* schools there should be a much closer study of the meaning and implications of Christianity, alike for those who accept and those who may reject. This was sound, as Adult Schools miss their way if they cease to be places of *lay, theological investigation*, an aspect which they have tended for long enough to ignore.

As was stated above, it may reasonably be contended that the theological divergence within the movement may be a source of weakness unless it is turned to constructive account. Three suggestions for so turning it are worth considering: (a) Professor G. Currie Martin suggested twenty-five years ago that the schools should exercise a leavening effect upon the Churches and other religious communities so that the latter would come to provide similar opportunities for the free discussion and examination of religious beliefs and practices.

Certainly at the present time some steps of this kind are being taken by ministers who occasionally throw open a service for discussion at the conclusion of its devotional side. But it is difficult to see how a Christian Church could maintain itself without a certain basis of theological agreement. The Church is built on faith and can scarcely encourage anything which might disturb the foundations. In any case, if Adult Schools persuaded the Churches to follow their (the schools') own course of free examination, that would not in itself turn their own inner divergence to constructive account: it would but have brought others into the same case. (b) The tendency of many members to regard their Adult school itself as their religious home has suggested to some that the movement might well be formed into a new religious organization—a new Church without a creed. Such a Church would certainly be novel and should not be dismissed as being necessarily a Church without a basis; the basis might be the desire to discover truth and apply it. There might be also an agreed central belief such as that the *truth is discoverable*. A much deeper devotional life, however, would be called for than is generally evident in the schools, if they were to claim to provide adequately for the needs of worship. A mere preamble of hymn and prayer, often somewhat slovenly in their observance, is no diet of the spirit. More feasible might be a diet of worship on Quaker lines, but it would again be necessary for something very much more intensive and centred than a preface of a few moments of silence. It is conceivable in the abstract, however, that an Adult School might become in fact what some rather loosely claim it to be even now—their church. (c) It seems to the writer that a more natural and useful task for Adult Schools in the field of religion is that of discovering faith, helping to create faith, seeking together the foundations of faith, without any attempt to set themselves up as churches. A basis of *quest* in an age of disillusion and doubt would speak to men's condition and could command the respect alike of those who, in the Churches and out, have moved on to faith and those who as yet 'do not even name the Eternal'. It would unite in one the functions of education and religion by representing an educational task in the field of religion and a religious task in the field of education.

Sir Z. F. Willis recently suggested that the movement should properly be 'a vast religious Workers' Educational Association'; that just as the latter provide and encourage the serious study and pursuit of a wide range of social, political, philosophical, and historical subjects, so the Adult School Movement should provide and encourage on a lay basis the serious pursuit and study of religion. It may be replied with some degree of truth that modern man is not interested in religion, in which case the appeal of such a venture would not be likely to be large: but it would be large enough, and certainly could be offered to all classes of the community and offered successfully if no attempt were made to prescribe the particular species of religion which should be studied or the particular conclusions that should be reached. (Frederick Temple's words are apposite: 'Where the conclusions are prescribed, the research is precluded.') There are tens of thousands of serious-minded people in all areas of the country who occupy a negative position theologically and would respond to a cordial fellowship in which they could help each other on toward clearer religious thought.

It remains to ask why, if these educational and religious tasks deserve and await attention, the performance of them is not evidently being wrought and wrought successfully in the Adult Schools of today. It may be that there is among them a dearth of real studentship, but that in its turn reflects as often as not the lack of inspiration at the level of leadership. If Adult Schools lack one thing more than another it is qualified, capable, sensitive, sympathetic leadership which can guide conversation, utilize all the talent in the group, expert and lay, and kindle a real love of what is best in the minds of those who have not yet come to appreciation. Mere fellowship is not enough, valuable as it is when present; it may hold those who attend but it is not in itself sufficient to draw others to it; nor does it guarantee real growth in knowledge and understanding. Where can real leadership be found? To some extent it is reasonable to look to the few who have graduated from membership of the schools to the rarer and more academic levels to return to the movement to give service as leaders, leaders who will sit and share knowledge and experience rather than of the type which seeks to impose opinions. At the present time this process of exodus and return of personnel is not taking place. Leaders must therefore be imported. Can the Church see in work of this kind a real field of service for its more capable members? Is it concerned to help in the life of groups which must first *seek* faith before they can hold it? It is a service for sensitive persons, not for those who wish to dominate or prescribe conclusions. In an age of unbelief no task could be more significant than to assist in the discovery or rediscovery of the things which cannot be shaken. Without such discovery, neither the Church nor education nor society is likely to hold together for long. We must educate one another for faith in order to recover faith in education.

W. ARNOLD HALL

Recent Literature

Cross and Altar, by H. Maurice Relton. (Skeffington & Son, 8s. 6d.)

In this moving and illuminating book Professor Relton gathers up the result of much thought and study over a period of years. He believes that the Cross and the Eucharist are 'the pivotal points around which and in which lies the key through experience to a firmer grasp of the Christian Way of Salvation'. There is a Foreword by Canon E. S. Abbot, Dean of King's College, London. Dr. Relton courageously faces the difficulties of the doctrine of the Atonement and grounds his results in the historical records supplied by the Gospels. His aim is to approach the Death in the light of the Life and Mission of Jesus, to consider these from the standpoint of the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost, and to connect the Work of Christ for us with His Work in us. It is distinctive of his exposition that he relates these high themes to the doctrines of the Church and the Sacraments, and considers everything in its bearing on Christian experience, both individual and communal. Dr. Relton treats the Atonement mainly in terms of the idea of Sacrifice, and is not afraid to recognize that there is a real element of substitution in the self-offering of the Son of Man. 'It is a curious thing', he observes, 'that in spite of all revolts against the cruder forms which the substitutionary theories of the Atonement have taken, what are described by way of contrast as "moral" theories have never quite carried the mass of Christians with them', and, in this connexion, he makes a penetrating study of Bushnell's teaching, emphasizing the idea that in the Christian doctrine of the Spirit we have the key to the Christian experience of the Atonement in us. He makes much also of the 'numinous' character of the Cross and its work in awakening the heart and conscience of sinners, and claims that the same is 'equally true of the Altar'. The peril of this line of thought is over-simplification, and it cannot be said that Dr. Relton altogether escapes this danger. So, at least, we must judge when he writes: 'Now if the Cross mediates for us in experience justification by faith, the Altar mediates for us equally in experience sanctification in Christ.' He is on sounder ground, I think, when he says that 'the Christian dares to draw near to the Altar only on the ground of the Sacrifice once offered, which now is pleaded as our sure shield against the wrath of the Lamb', and that 'when He offers us His Body and His Blood, as a sin-cleansing and soul-feeding reality, He means Himself, all that He is and has'. Prof. Relton's book is both a provocative and passionate study of theology and a modern devotional classic. The Catholic strain in its teaching is in no way strange to many convinced Protestants, for we feel as we read that our minds have been kindled and our hearts warmed at the same fires.

VINCENT TAYLOR

Theology of Crisis, by Ulrich Simon. (S.P.C.K., 15s.)

The title suggests Karl Barth, or, perhaps, the Crisis of Faith. But the author of this comprehensive work, who is lecturer in theology at King's College, London, travels over a much wider territory. He has indeed taken all Church history to be his province. We may think of the crisis of 1919 or 1948; but he would urge on us that every period is a period of crisis, and, indeed, that all thought is critical. He begins with an 'empirical panorama', ranging over the whole field of philosophy; he passes to the Old Testament and the Gospels and Acts, and goes on to the Schoolmen, the Reformation, and through Leibnitz and Nietzsche to the present day. Crisis always and everywhere! What then is meant by crisis? Separation, of course; but this

leads on to 'order, struggle, choice, decision'. So understood, 'the critical event, *par excellence*, is one in which the separate strands of experience find their distinctive blending in climacteric experiences'—somewhat in the same way, it might appear, as Bradley found all experiences summed up in the Absolute. A theology of crisis (the author at first avoids, as of set purpose, the definite article) will, therefore, 'explore the setting of all events of crisis', and especially 'the absolute crisis, the clash of . . . transcendence and immanence'. This reveals a five-fold cycle—continuous substance, tension, free determination, climax, result—which is ordained by God in order to produce the triumph of His Kingdom on earth; a pattern which finds room for both freedom and grace. Crisis is thus a 'cosmological scheme', not an 'isolated event'. It has seemed best to use the author's own words, obscure as they undoubtedly are, lest his meaning should be misrepresented by a rather puzzled reader. Not only is the theology of crisis (for the article cannot always be kept out by the author)—a *Weltanschauung*, a theory, a view of the world—it is also the author's own private view of the universe. He decides on this, and condemns that. Most of the book consists of a demonstration of the extent to which the different periods have exhibited or implied the working of this divine cycle, or, as the irreverent might call it, this Procrustean bed. The five moments are described widely and freely enough to enable us to see them all at work with little difficulty—so much so that the book leaves us wondering whether the pattern is adapted to events, or events to the pattern. The final 'inescapable either-or' with which the book closes—either God is dead and man is alone in the universe, or God is alive and man's end is to know Him—does not seem to need a crisis of this kind to enforce it. The book has evidently been written in haste; the style is often loose and often obscure; the reader is at times forced to take rather disconcerting jumps; many of the footnotes are disarranged; and the Latin phrases, which are numerous, contain a surprising number of 'howlers' for which the printer cannot well be wholly held responsible. Still, there is a great deal in the book which is well worth noting—as, for instance, the verdict on Nietzsche, 'The human will, with which Christian theology had been so well acquainted, is now made to bear the whole world and is crushed under its weight'—and if the reader will himself maintain a critical attitude, in the more usual sense of the word, he will not be unrewarded.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

The Holy Spirit and Ourselves, by Geoffrey Nuttall. (Blackwell, Oxford, 5s.)

This book illustrates the marked interest of modern theology in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It is a small volume, but it has an importance altogether greater than its size, for it combines much solid thinking and exposition with popular treatment in the best sense of the term. The book, clearly connected with Dr. Nuttall's earlier work, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, consists of Lectures given both at the 1947 Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and to some of the staff and the senior boys of Bryanston School, Dorset. By a happy thought the several chapters are based on the successive verses of the hymn, 'Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed His tender, last farewell', and the themes treated are the Gift, the Power, the Character, the Guidance, the Discipline, and the Community of the Spirit. On the vexed question of Guidance, Dr. Nuttall argues that reason and conscience are the normal means by which we become conscious of the leading of the Spirit, yet he finds a place for that immediate intuition of which Christian men are repeatedly conscious. On all the questions discussed many wise and discerning things are said, in particular on the Church as the community of the Spirit. It would be difficult to find a better book either for study groups or for serious individual readers.

VINCENT TAYLOR

The Pattern in the Mount, by D. Howard Smith. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)

This book is the outcome of lectures delivered in North China to groups of Christian workers, both western and Chinese, before the war, and during the war in an internment camp. They are thus almost wholly without documentary notes and have few references other than biblical. The theme is: Ideas become effective when they are embodied in institutions; Christianity has its roots in Hebrew ideas; let us therefore examine Hebrew institutions. Let us see what Jesus in the first place, and the Church later, had to say about these institutions, what in them they adapted and what of them they transformed. The author discusses in turn the Law, the Sabbath, the Festivals, the Temple, the Synagogue, Priesthood and Prophecy, and the Covenant. In each case he gives a short and popular account of the institution, and shows how Jesus went behind the form to the spiritual principles involved. The aim is always practical, and the author is concerned to say what all this has to do with us now, and what we are to do about it. While I do not find the accounts of the Jewish institutions always as satisfactory as they might be, this is due for the most part to the compression inevitable in such a series of lectures. The author's chapter on Temple and Church shows a great appreciation of the beauty of noble places of worship, consecrated by the prayers of the centuries, but I think he might have been a little more charitable in his references to Nonconformist chapels. NORMAN H. SNAITH

The Story of Jericho, by John Garstang and J. B. E. Garstang. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 8s. 6d.)

In this work, originally published eight years ago, we are given a clear and interesting account of the successive phases in the life of Jericho as they were brought to light by the excavation of the site under Professor Garstang's direction. The concluding chapter, which relates the archaeological discoveries to the biblical narrative of the Exodus and the invasion of Canaan, is by J. B. E. Garstang, and is based on the work of Canon Phythian-Adams, to whom the book is dedicated. The changes made in this edition are, for the most part, slight. A rather lower dating has been introduced in some contexts; some of the notes on the illustrations have been altered and expanded; and in the body of the book the text has been revised in some twenty or thirty places. The most significant addition is a new appendix (reprinted from *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*) in which Albright's dating of certain types of pottery from Beisan is used to show that the so-called Middle Building was not, as formerly thought, the royal palace of the Fourth City, but belonged to the second period of the Later Bronze Age. It is suggested that it was the residence of Eglon. No concession is made to the criticisms which have been advanced against the proposed date of the fall of the Fourth City. The authors maintain that, but for the dispute about the date of the Exodus, the date of the fall of Jericho would probably never have been questioned. Be that as it may, since the discoveries at Jericho have been used in support of a fifteenth-century date for the Exodus, it is not surprising that some scholars have pointed out the difficulty of reconciling that date with other evidence, such as the date of the fall of Lachish (put by archaeologists toward the end of the thirteenth century, and by Joshua 10^{31f.} in the lifetime of Joshua), or the results of Glueck's important researches east of Jordan, which suggest that before the thirteenth century there was no settled population in Edom and Moab to oppose the Israelite advance. To raise points such as these is not to deny the attractiveness and interest either of the book or of the view of the Exodus which it supports. But the reader will be mistaken if he imagines that archaeology has simplified the biblical problem. It has, if anything, made that problem more complicated.

G. W. ANDERSON

Jesus, Son of Man, by G. S. Duncan. (Nisbet, 16s.)

This book covers a wider range of topics than its main title suggests. It is virtually an exposition of the various designations (Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man, etc.) by which Jesus is known and of much of the content of His teaching. The three main sections (The Historical Problem, The Person of Jesus, Jesus and the Church) clearly show the line of treatment. The interpreter of the New Testament has a twofold task—to gain, as far as possible, a clear view of the Gospel portrait of Jesus, and to explain the rise and growth of the Christian Church and the place of Jesus therein. In a word he has to relate 'the Jesus of history' to 'the Christ of faith'. Dr. Duncan gives a salutary reminder that careful critical examination of the Gospel sources is an indispensable preliminary for doctrinal formulation, and the Barthian distrust of any attempt to find the historical facts is deplored. Yet historical data must be viewed as indicative of Christian faith, for 'A purely "objective" portrait is an impossibility'. In particular, investigation must pay due regard to the impression Jesus made on those intimate with Him during the days of His flesh. In this section there is a useful critical estimate of Form Criticism. The core of the book is found in Part Two. It must suffice to point out the main features in the author's discussion of that enigmatic title 'Son of Man' (1) Jesus asks His disciples to think of Him not as Messiah but as Son of Man; (2) whatever else the term may imply, the root meaning (as its Semitic origin denotes) is that of 'humanity'; (3) the term is both individual and corporate in its reference, for in some passages it clearly denotes Jesus Himself but in others 'man' in general; (4) its affinity is less with the *Similitudes of Enoch* (with their picture of the Son of Man as a supernatural figure coming in glory to execute judgement) than with Daniel 7, where the phrase connotes 'the people of the saints of the Most High'; (5) a careful grouping of 'the Son of Man sayings' in the Gospels shows that the idea of an apocalyptic coming in judgement, though undeniable in some passages, does not exhaust the meaning of the term; (6) the title is to be understood primarily in the light of its use in Ezekiel, where it is frequently applied to the prophet as the spokesman of a divine and universal message. On some or all of these contentions opinions will naturally differ. For example, the apparent minimizing of Messiahship in the mind of Jesus hardly accords with the probabilities of the case (for Jesus was a Jew) or indeed with the Gospel data. Nor can the influence on Jesus of apocalyptic hopes be lightly regarded as a subordinate factor in his self-interpretation. Nevertheless cordial thanks are due to Professor Duncan for the comprehensiveness and clarity of his discussion. In future editions misplaced footnotes on pages 20 and 21 should be readjusted.

H. G. MEECHAM

The Acts of the Apostles, by W. L. Knox. (Cambridge Press, 8s. 6d.)

Canon Knox begins with a critical discussion of recent work on this perennially fascinating book, notably of Professor A. C. Clark's attack on the accepted view that the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were by the same author. Canon Knox examines carefully Professor Clark's evidence, and sums up as follows: 'The facts as to the variations of language would indeed prove, if they proved anything at all, that the Gospel of St. Luke and the first half of Acts were written by the same author . . . while the second half was added by another hand. . . . On the other hand we have to face the fact that in the Gospel we are dealing with a very careless reviser, and that exactly the same phenomenon meets us in Acts. . . . It is only reasonable to suppose that . . . the same hand added the two prefaces and incidental pieces of "scholarship prose", and that it is the hand of the writer of the "we-sections" (in Acts). . . . We seem to be landed into "the position of the schoolboy who . . . said that so far as he could see it had been established that Homer wasn't written by Homer, but by another man of the same name".' In later chapters Canon Knox

shows himself ready to accept the early date of Galatians—before the 'Council of Jerusalem'—and makes a strong case for a date for the Acts itself well within the first century, arguing that Ignatius (martyred before A.D. 117) quotes the Second Epistle to Timothy, which in its turn uses Acts as its authority on several occasions. Of other opinions one may note that Canon Knox still calls Galatians 'a flaming attack on Jewish Christians who are perverting the gospel', completely ignoring Prof. Ropes's argument in *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians*. Again, one may question whether Paul is really composing a parody of 'synagogue rhetoric' in Romans 1^{24ff}, and still more whether Luke, finding a Sermon on the Mount in his source, altered it to a Sermon on a level place . . . because 'the giving of a new Torah was reserved for Pentecost'. Canon Knox shares with his brother gifts of wit and ingenuity; and this little book is full of neat aphorisms, such as 'The most ardent Christian socialist is liable to feel a certain thrill when he finds a duchess in his congregation', and 'It may be regrettable that Paul did not hold strongly anti-semitic views; but in fact he did not', but what are we to make of the Canon's statement that Luke's story of the escape from Damascus agrees almost verbatim with 2 Corinthians 11³³ except that στυρίς is substituted for σαργάνη? What about the omission of 'the ethnarch of Aretas the King' in Acts 9²⁴?

J. A. FINDLAY

Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, by W. D. Davies. (S.P.C.K., 27s. 6d.)

The question of Hebraism *versus* Hellenism seems to be of enduring interest. This important book discusses very thoroughly a particular aspect of that large issue. It is a crucial question for Christianity whether Paul is in line with the teaching of Jesus or whether he distorted the simple Gospel into a drama of redemption based upon Greek mystery religions. This treatise is a further sign of the healthy reaction from the pan-Hellenic tendencies of Reitzenstein, Bousset, and others. Paul's religious heritage was fundamentally Jewish; but he lived and laboured in an Hellenistic environment. The problem of 'Paulinism' is to disentangle these component elements, or rather to see them in their due proportions. If at times the author seems to over-stress Paul's many affinities with contemporary Rabbinic Judaism, and if perhaps more might be said for Greek influence on Paul's mind, the main thesis of this book stands secure. Paul is first and last a Jew; he is the Pharisee become Christian, who finds in Christ the fulfilment of the true and ancient Israel. The old and the new factors in his experience and thought—'flesh' and 'sin' (there is a careful examination of the use of the term σάρξ), the first and the second Adam, etc.—are set forth with force and cogency. The author disclaims any attempt to present an exhaustive account of Pauline theology, but that is what in effect we have in these substantial chapters. The sections on Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism and on the death of Christ are outstandingly good. There is throughout unmistakable evidence of wide and accurate scholarship and of a fine critical acumen. The reader may feel 'the going' rather heavy, but he will be relieved by readable style. In any event there is here an abundance of rich material for the study of Paul in his Rabbinic setting. Naturally in so comprehensive a survey one may demur at some points. Is it true that 'only the exigencies of controversy' led Paul to assert the cosmic functions of Christ? One is not convinced, again, that the use of the participle for the imperative in the New Testament is necessarily a Semitism and alien from Hellenistic usage. Three learned Appendices, a Bibliography, and a full, classified Index of nine sections complete a remarkable first venture into authorship. There are a few misprints, chiefly in the names of scholars.

H. G. MEECHAM

The Birth of the Christian Religion, by Alfred Loisy, authorized translation from the French by L. P. Jacks. (Allen and Unwin, 18s.)

Loisy's elaborate reconstruction of the history of early Christianity as given in his *Naissance du Christianisme* (1933) is here made available for English readers in a fine translation, with the addition of 49 pages of notes furnished by its writer 'to meet the needs of the scholar and student'. A Preface is contributed by Dr. Gilbert Murray. Loisy, in a way made familiar by Guignebert and others, describes Jesus as a Galilean preacher and exorcist transformed into a god by the faith and worship of his disciples. 'The view of Him as a mystical philanthropist, the kingdom of heaven as essentially inward and moral, the presence of God in the soul, the intimate awareness of the divine fatherhood and goodness, of the law of love and the dignity of man' is 'what the Gospel may seem to those who try to find themselves in it and view it from a great distance of time, sifted by the experience of many centuries.' According to Loisy the conduct that Jesus inculcated was motivated by the dominating thought of 'the concrete, real, and even realistic conception of the imminent kingdom of God'. Christianity, as we know it, came to birth in the later half of the second century A.D., when the Church, having freed itself from the restricted ideas of the teaching of Jesus and the spirit and framework of Judaism, found in the Hellenistic world the particular forms which it instinctively chose for itself. Loisy's view of the New Testament evidence is founded on the conclusions given in his *Origines du Nouveau Testament* (1936) in which the various New Testament documents are represented as taking their final form at a date considerably later than that usually assigned to them. The Synoptists are not earlier than A.D. 130-140 and the canonical Gospel of John cannot be earlier than A.D. 150. These documents are the products and the historic witnesses of a doctrinal elaboration carried on during a hundred or a hundred and fifty years. The great Pauline epistles are unauthentic, supplementary, and late in all their references to the mystic *gnosis*. Only the developments of an eschatological character are truly Pauline. In a review in 1937 Professor Marcel Simon of Strasburg supported the objections of authoritative scholars to this radical reconstruction of the Pauline Epistles. That which Loisy considered to be the most important of his conclusions—the essential dissimilarity of the historical Paul, the preacher of the primitive Christian eschatology, from the mystical Paul—rests on the assumption that there cannot be an historical person without a rigidly logical and organized system of thought—a criterion which it is difficult to apply, especially to the realm of religious experience. These so-called incoherences will lead many to believe in the integrity of the Epistles rather than in the thesis of a compilation. To say that the gnostic passages are inconceivable as coming from the apostle because they reflect a later form of thought is to misunderstand both the essence of Paulinism and the role played in his development by the religious environment of the Dispersion and the Hellenism in which he was born. As to the Gospels, Sir Frederic Kenyon has lately shown that the discovery of the *Chester-Beatty Papyri* and lesser documents has tended to confirm belief in them as a faithful historical record. Moreover, how are we to account for the fact that an obscure Jewish sect, after a struggle of three centuries, conquered the Greco-Roman world? The view that the Resurrection was myth invented by the pious imagination of the peasant followers of Jesus, disheartened and disillusioned as they were by the crucifixion of their leader, does not explain such a change.

HENRY HOGARTH

A Philosophy of the Christian Revelation, by Edwin Lewis. (The Epworth Press, 15s.)

This book is a vigorous and thoughtful restatement of the Christian answer to the meaning of life, in a style attractive and clear even when the author is dealing with the most difficult questions. Part One presents the biblical evidence, and claims

validity for the truth of Revelation as God's disclosure of Himself. This implies that God has so made us that we can hear what He says, and in One Perfect Life His Word is fully spoken. The chapter on 'The Church and Revelation' is a memorable exposition of the Church as itself part of the Gospel it is commissioned to declare. Part Two is concerned to meet the questions raised today, especially in psychology. Dr. Lewis does not share the Barthian suspicion of reason, but he finds that the rationalist does not include all the evidence his own method implies. Often nationalists rightly claim that a scientist must seek to do no more than observe, but forget that something more is needed to discover *meaning*. It is the personal which finds meaning in experience. 'The best answer to naturalism is the naturalist who puts it together!' Admittedly, the experienter can read facts in more than one way, but this only brings us to the claim which Christians have always made—that the issue is finally that of faith, which can be tested, but not in the last resort pronounced upon, by the observer. Our author is fully aware that there is danger of irrationalism here, and some of his most trenchant argument comes in his attempt to meet the danger. Here he insists especially that the Christian claim is rooted in facts of history. Thus he asks whether doubt about the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection is adequately explained on scientific or historical grounds, and whether it does not go deeper—to the whole question of the Person of Christ. Here, the Christian does not evade the demand for proof of his belief, but asserts that the proofs which will satisfy the scientist are not pertinent to the subject being tested. Truth about Christ is more than what we believe; it is, as John wrote, something we *do*. Self-committal to Christ is the final test of His claims; our knowledge of Him authenticates itself. In Part Three, the writer shows us, behind the changing world-view, the unchanging need in the experience of man, which is met by the sufficiency of God's Once-for-all Act in Christ, through whom He gives us His Ever-present and Creative Spirit to interpret His Word to us and renew our strength in grace. The change of climate from doubt to belief, and to a new evangelicalism, is brilliantly summarized, and Christ's Saving Work is the theme on which the book closes. There are several minor misprints, and a sentence on page 162 seems unintelligible as it stands. One practical question—if the publishers can give us so neat and substantial a volume of 318 pages for fifteen shillings, how is it that other firms sometimes charge more for volumes barely two-thirds the size?

T. J. FOINETTE

The Religious Orders in England, by David Knowles. (Cambridge University Press, 30s.)

Dom David Knowles's new volume, the second instalment of a larger work, covers the period from 1215 to 1340. Any new study of the religious orders inevitably invites comparison with Dr. G. G. Coulton's monumental *Five Centuries of Religion* (not mentioned here except in the bibliography) and the series of monographs published by his colleagues. The obvious difference is that Coulton wrote from without and, be it confessed, usually with an eye to a possible 'case'; Professor Knowles is a Catholic monk and is able to appreciate monasticism from within. It is all the more striking that he can be so scholarly and dispassionate. His book has no *imprimatur* and its appeal is to judicial minds rather than to partisans. It is a delightful book, the product of profound research and wise interpretation, with a most readable English style. The volume deals chiefly with the vigorous thirteenth century, which saw the rise of the friars and universities, and Dr. Knowles takes the Lateran Council of 1215 as a real watershed. With the friars there appeared a new *type* of 'religious', more conscious of their membership of an international order and more dependent on Rome. This centralization of thought, if not of structure, was marked by the production of the Thomist *corpus* and resulted in a new attitude to heterodoxy. This was

assisted by the growing connexion of the new orders—in spite of St. Francis—with the universities. There was a hardening process at work which made the thirteenth century a still more critical period than even Dr. Knowles brings out. Aquinas for all his greatness (or because of it) had a limiting effect on the development of the Church, and the Dominicans became much more sensitive to error than they were to truth. Dr. Knowles, admitting that 'Bonaventure, Albert, and Thomas Aquinas made little account of some of the mental activities essential to a full human culture' adds that 'they were able to see all things in a lucid order'. This is the very sign and seal of their limitations. They were like many modern scientists who see things in a lucid order only by minimizing the essential human factors that prevent either orderliness or lucidity. From time to time Dr. Knowles's modesty disappoints us by the statement 'this is not the place' to discuss this or that, just when it would seem to be quite otherwise. A good example is in his all-too-brief account of Roger Bacon, accompanied as it is by the provocative statement that Francis Bacon's position as a thinker is 'almost as equivocal' as that of his thirteenth-century namesake. Nevertheless this is a most absorbing account of the orders old and new, the Cathedral monasteries, the monastic boroughs, the life of the monasteries from within, and their work as landlords. This book is history as it ought to be written.

A. VICTOR MURRAY

Darwin: Before and After. The Story of Evolution, by Robert E. D. Clark. (The Paternoster Press, 6s.)

Dr. Clark clearly has an axe to grind. He is determined at all costs to belittle the conception of evolution even to the extent of advancing Darwin's religious conflicts as being responsible for the perniciousness of his scientific theories. In spite of innumerable references, Dr. Clark completely fails impartially to assess biological facts for or against the theory of evolution, and his somewhat grudging admission of the immense value of this theory to biological science is negated by his assertion that it is now moribund and useless. Few scientists would agree. It is difficult to understand why a scientific theory, as such, should be ridiculed because of alleged deductions therefrom of false philosophical, moral, and political conceptions. The suggestion that *Mein Kampf* and the political practices of Adolf Hitler were the inevitable result of a belief in evolution is surely far-fetched. Evolution is a scientific theory, and science is not really concerned with prime causes; it is essentially descriptive; it seeks to answer the question 'How?', not 'Why?'. Belief in evolution is therefore not incompatible with belief in a Deity, or even in the Christian faith.

E. J. B. BISHOP

The Bhagavadgita, with an Introductory Essay, Sanscrit Text, English Translation and Notes, by S. Radhakrishnan. (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.)

The Song of God: Bhagavadgita, Translated by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood, with an introduction by Aldous Huxley. (Phoenix House, 6s.)

One of the very few attractive and effective open-air Evangelist missionaries of this century in India was asked how a speaker should prepare to approach Hindus with his offer of the Gospel. 'He must soak himself in the Bhagavadgita; if possible he must know it all by heart', was the unhesitating reply. This 'Song of God' is the most popular fragment of the Hindu classics. It was exploited by Mrs. Besant in her Theosophical appeal to India. It was the word of life on which Mahatma Gandhi nourished his spirit in prison and in public. 'I find a solace in the Bhagavadgita I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount.' English-thinking people have had access to the heart of the music, close-knit word-play, and lofty thought of the Sanscrit poem through good versions, but never before has the English beginner in Hindu

studies being presented with such an aid to insight and appreciation as Professor Radhakrishnan's new translation with text and commentary. Here is a guide not only to the main roads, but also to many of the tempting by-paths, through the jungle of Hinduism. The student is led by the most gifted of modern interpreters of Hinduism, who with profound knowledge of Christian and Western philosophy is able in nervous, vital language to make the ancient text significant for the spiritual life of today. Anyone working diligently through the romanized Sanscrit text and the clean prose translation would go far toward understanding the Sanscrit language. All the great ideas and ideals of Hindu reflection and experience are here, and never before have they been exhibited with such a rich display of parallel thoughts, not only from the vast literature of Hinduism, but also from far West and East. Bible quotations not only illumine the Hindu text, but themselves catch new meanings. The Professor bravely tries to disentangle the inconsistencies of this attempt to synthesize the Dvaitist and Advaitist speculations on the nature of God, man and the world, and shows how for more than two thousand years men have been straining after the same spiritual values.

Anyone who wishes to make a less studious approach but would like to catch the spirit of the poem, will find in Swami Prabhavananda's translation into verse and prose a refreshing and lively version. It is introduced as an example of 'Perennial Philosophy' by Aldous Huxley. Radhakrishnan, who thinks 'Jesus . . . attained to a divine status', would probably agree, when Huxley writes: 'To a seeker after spiritual reality who reads the Gita or the Sermon on the Mount, it cannot matter very much whether or not the historical Krishna and the historical Jesus ever existed at all.' But, while the Gita was a great attempt to fathom the mystery of incarnation and other forms of divine manifestation, it was not the final word. 'We know that the Son of God is come and hath give us an understanding.' G. STANTON MARRIS

Buddhism (Volume One): Hinayana, by the Rev. C. H. S. Ward. (The Epworth Press, 7s. 6d. net.)

It is good to see a new and revised edition of this work. Mr. Ward, who spent thirty-three years as a missionary in Ceylon, has been a student of Buddhism all his life. This first volume is concerned with the Hinayana School, professed chiefly in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. The Mahayana School will be dealt with in the second volume. Whether for the student or the ordinary reader, this book offers a most able and interesting introduction to the faith and practice of Buddhism. Mr. Ward has given a strictly factual account—so far as the facts can be ascertained in the absence of much necessary information and in the presence of great masses of apocryphal material—of the life of Gotama and the rise and expansion of Buddhism. He does not indulge in superlatives; he is sparing of criticism; he leaves the facts and the doctrines of Buddhism largely to speak for themselves. And speak they do, to sad and sombre effect. The Buddha's great discovery amounts just to this: 'There is in the universe neither substance nor spirit, neither underlying reality in matter nor God nor soul at the back of mind; but only the law of becoming and passing away, the law of impermanence which inevitably involves evil and sorrow.' But the doctrine that life is itself an evil, and the only goal for man is escape from it by the cessation of all desire, is a doctrine at once too sublimated and too abstruse for ordinary people, and Mr. Ward is certainly right when he attributes the wide expansion of Buddhism to its toleration or adoption of the animistic religions of the people it sought to convert. For Buddhism has no message of salvation for the soul of man. This, though not polemically argued, is clearly the author's judgement. That it is true, no one who has had experience of that religion and its followers can doubt. This is a careful, understanding and valuable work.

W. J. NOBLE

Islam and Christian Theology, Part I, Volume 2, by J. Windrow Sweetman. (Lutterworth Press, 18s.)

This volume completes the first part of Dr. Sweetman's monumental work on the theological relations between Islam and Christianity. Volume I contained a survey of the early interrelations between the two faiths, and an account of the introduction of philosophy into Islam. Volume II describes in detail the theological position at the close of the period of Christian ascendancy in the Near East. Both religions began with a 'grand *depositum*', a foundation on which the later theological superstructure was raised; and, however significant the influence on both of Greek philosophy, it was that foundation which preserved the distinctive character of the message of each faith—in Christianity, the facts stated in the Apostles' Creed; in Islam, the unity of the God-head and the mission of the Prophet. Dr. Sweetman discusses each of the major doctrines in turn, considering not only the central stream of thought, but the contribution of the Muslim sects and the Christian heretics. He deals first with the Being and Attributes of God, showing how in both religions there was a common Semitic inheritance and a development from the appeal to revelation to the appeal to reason. The doctrine of grace reveals a fundamental difference; in Islam it 'has become secondary and derivative'. Under the heading 'Mediation' Dr. Sweetman surveys belief in a hierarchy of powers, angels, and emanations, and the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The later sections of the book deal with the doctrine of the Logos, prophecy and Scripture, the ordering of the universe, the world and man, sin, salvation, and judgement. The entire treatment is marked by the erudition displayed in the first volume, and both its interest and its usefulness are increased by the carefully selected quotations from the primary sources. The indices are admirably full and well arranged. Students of the subject will be grateful for a work which is both informative and stimulating.

G. W. ANDERSON

World Christianity, by Henry P. Van Dusen. (S.C.M. Press, 8s. 6d.)

In the steady procession of works on the Ecumenical Movement this book will take a worthy place. It ambitiously sets out to survey the Christian world enterprise of yesterday, today, and tomorrow, holding together, all the way through, the two threads of missionary expansion and progressive unification. Dr. Van Dusen, starting from Professor Latourette's familiar figure of Christianity progressing by waves, concentrates upon the last, swiftest, and farthest-reaching of these in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and speculates on what may follow it now. He shows how, while earlier periods of Christian revival have mostly been marked by division, the last and greatest has achieved a steady drawing together of Christians, not only of different countries and races but of different communions. The chief attraction for most readers will probably lie in Chapters 5 and 8. In the former an impressive account is given of the way in which the world Christian community not only survived the second World War, but emerged from it more closely knit than ever and better equipped to face new demands; there is a great story to tell here, and Dr. Van Dusen makes the most of it. Chapter 8 is a very thorough survey of the issues of Christian unity, covering the different methods of approach to the problem, the points of divergence, the principles on which the author believes closer unity can be attained, and some bold suggestions about the Sacraments and the Ministry. Not all readers will agree with these, but none can fail to find them stimulating. The author's way of writing is clear and analytical, and sometimes moving. Here and there the English reader will wonder whether words are spelt just so, even in America, and some will feel that toward the end the message of the book suffers a little from

overmuch repetition; but these are minor complaints. Dr. Van Dusen has not only produced a most comprehensive survey, but has vividly shown how our time of crisis is a great day of opportunity.

BASIL CLUTTERBUCK

The Early Methodist People, by Leslie F. Church. (The Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.)

The Fernley-Hartley Lecture for 1948 deserves a special welcome, for more reasons than one. First Dr. Church has been fortunate enough to find a piece of territory which has never before been adequately explored. One would have thought that the whole field of Methodist origins had been worked over, but here is a part of it that has remained almost virgin soil. We know nearly all that is to be known about the Wesleys, and the early Methodist Preachers, but what about the early Methodist people? What kind of folk were they? and what sort of lives did they live? These questions are answered at large in this illuminating volume, and answered at the cost of research that can only be called tremendous. Dr. Church appears to have read every local history of Methodism, and every personal memoir that dates from the early years. The innumerable quotations found on every page, and the colossal bibliography appended to the volume, are proof enough of this. The result is an account of the rank and file of the early Methodists such as we have never possessed before—encyclopedic in its range and detail, and yet at the farthest remove from anything dry-as-dust. There are extremely quaint details, as when we read that Wesley disapproved of women wearing enormous bonnets, and of the use of hops in brewing ale! Some things in this book are specially welcome. For instance, there is the understanding way in which Dr. Church deals with, and defends, what is often regarded as the Puritanical strictness of the early Methodists. Whether our generation likes it or not, it is a fact that religion, whenever it has been really in earnest, has made for strictness of behaviour. It must necessarily do so. If life is conceived in terms of character and service, the mere enjoyments of the world must take a very secondary place, and some of them must be crowded out altogether. The really religious man must say to the world (and to a great deal of what it reckons as pleasure): 'Stand thou on that side, for on this am I!' But strictness in one's own personal conduct did not imply a censorious spirit toward others. As Wesley said: 'True religion has nothing sour, austere, unsociable, unfriendly in it.' There is much to commend in this volume, and little to criticize. It is a pity that Dr. Church seems to condone the popular misunderstanding of the doctrine of total depravity, as if it meant that human nature is wholly bad. Or again, no doubt it is true that it was Wesley who introduced the word 'class' in English when the class-meeting began, and that he had the Roman *classis* in mind in a remote way, but the term was directly borrowed from the Moravians as any history of the *Unitas Fratrum* will prove. This fine piece of work will be indispensable henceforth to the student of early Methodism. It is a very remarkable performance in every way.

HENRY BETT

The Social Impact of the Evangelical Revival, by F. A. J. Harding. (The Epworth Press, 3s.)

The quickened interest in the religious and social effects of the Evangelical Revival, which dates decisively from John Wesley's conversion, is reflected in this little volume. Mr. Harding's book will guide many to the right starting-point for exploration, and that is no small service. Beginning with the group of young men at Oxford in the seventeen-thirties who 'methodized' their time and occupations, the story travels with John and Charles Wesley to the American Colonies, and back to London and Aldersgate Street on 24th May 1738. From that point the social teaching and practice of the Methodist pioneers, and their impact on English life—domestic and denominational, industrial and political—is the theme presented in singularly

interesting fashion. The Letters of Junius, the American War of Independence, and the Anti-Slavery campaign provide the author with an eighteenth-century background against which he displays John Wesley's political and social reactions. Chartism and the beginnings of modern Trade Unionism throw into relief the attitudes of the various Methodist movements of the first half of the nineteenth century. There Mr. Harding's brief record ends, with words that point the way forward for the Christian social toiler today.

HENRY CARTER

Charles Roden Buxton: A Memoir by Victoria de Bunsen. (Geo. Allen and Unwin, 9s. 6d.)

To one who has read *Prophets of Heaven and Hell* this memoir of its author will be very welcome. It is a word portrait, delicately and lovingly sketched by his sister. After a liberal education, of which he took full advantage, C. R. Buxton took up politics as a career. Although he held, at one time or another, very important posts, he never 'arrived' politically, as men with half his abilities and twice his 'push' have done; probably his interests were too humanitarian. Many readers will find the chapter on 'His Approach to Reality' one of the most fascinating, dealing with Religion and 'his attitude to the spiritual world'. His was a simple, fervent Christian faith, shorn of unnecessary trimmings. From the evangelicalism of 'The Clapham Sect' type, in which he had been nurtured and which was traditional in his family, he passed finally to the Society of Friends. His Bible was his constant companion. St. John, with his emphasis upon God as Light and Love, especially appealed to him and, whilst regarding Theology as 'the most enthralling of studies', he distinguished sharply between the practice of religion and an 'interest' in it. He hated war and spent his life in seeking to end it, but it seemed to him that in the two great wars of his time there was a challenge to the spiritual values of humanity that the complete pacifist failed to meet. During the 1914-18 war he offered for active service but was rejected on health grounds. He sought to establish cordial relations with Russia and Germany and travelled in these and many other countries, seeking all kinds of contacts that would be helpful and give him a deeper understanding of the needs and difficulties of mankind. For the welfare of African peoples he had special concern, as a kind of family legacy. He served the League of Nations and all humanitarian causes had his sympathy. In time he passed beyond the Liberalism of his youth and joined the Independent Labour Party. All his motives were unswervingly altruistic. He loved beautiful things in the way which is only possible to cultured minds, and could have gained distinction in the world of literature; but he preferred to serve the less privileged among his fellow men. We are grateful for this introduction to a singularly winsome and inspiring spirit.

W. L. DOUGHTY

Everyday Religion, by Edward S. Woods. (S.C.M. Press, 8s. 6d.)

This book might almost be described as an elementary course in Citizenship. It has, however, two disqualifications. One is that if there is a system in the grouping of the subjects, it is not apparent to the reader. The second is that there is no sufficient attack on present-day social evils. While it is an excellent thing to deal with politics, work, recreation, money, sex, health, beauty, and thought, by itself this is not a sufficient guide to everyday living. By implication the author sometimes suggests the anti-social forces in our midst, but he does not sufficiently define and attack them. There are only two minor references to strong drink and no extended mention of gambling beyond a reference to pools and race-meetings and the use of money. Even the breakdown of sex relations, although treated, is not fully diagnosed nor are there answers to questions that are being currently asked. Yet on the positive side the writer does not fail to give his readers excellent counsel. While he does not

display any great originality, he always gives sound advice, and the book in its robust common sense would greatly stimulate a 'general reader'. The Bishop is a man of wide sympathies, sound learning, and a great lover of his fellow men, and all these qualities are evident in this seventh edition of a book for which there is still a popular demand. One could wish that he had committed himself more fully in his treatment of politics and in the application of the Christian ethic to industry. On the other hand, the chapters on health and on beauty are particularly helpful and are not always included in a book of this nature. The quotations with which each section begins add to the value of a work which can be whole-heartedly commended to all who desire instruction in the Christian way of living. MALDWYN EDWARDS

Men and Women, by Dr. Gilbert Russell. (S.C.M., 6s.)

The conscientious reviewer has a delicate task. Once in a while, however, he finds himself in the happy position of commending a book of outstanding worth, and can confidently say: 'This book is first-rate.' Dr. Gilbert Russell has given us a book of this calibre. It deals with a subject about which Christian people today are sorely in need of clear guidance. It obviously represents years of wide reading, searching thought, and intimate knowledge of human life. It is brilliantly written, in a style which reaches a very high literary level. In short, it is a book which cannot be ignored by anyone interested in the vital question of sex, love, and marriage. The author brings to his task a unique combination of qualifications. He has been a medical missionary in China, a parish priest in England, a teacher of moral theology, and a practising psychiatrist. He is a founder member of the Marriage Guidance Council and is at present Education Secretary to the Church of England Moral Welfare Council. He shows a sure and confident grasp of his subject, alike from the biological, psychological, and theological points of view. He develops his theme with a gentle reasonableness, totally devoid of polemics. Always charitable toward the non-Christian viewpoint, he yet vindicates the case for a Christian philosophy of sex, step by step, with inexorable logic. No Christian can read this book without feeling strengthened and reassured. No honest opponent of the Christian case could read it without being deeply challenged. Not that all readers of *Men and Women* will agree with all of it. Some who welcome Dr. Russell's views on divorce will deplore his attitude to contraception. Some will do precisely the opposite. Followers of the conventional views on sex education will be unsettled and have to think afresh at a deeper level. Those who have smugly enjoyed the reputation of being 'experts' in these matters will find the security of their status rudely shaken. But no one will read the book without being compelled to do some new thinking, and without being the better for it. At present the battle between the Christian and the secular philosophies is hotly joined over the issue of the meaning of sex and love. It may, for our generation and for others which follow, be a decisive battle for the Church. We have had far too many feeble and unconvincing contributions to the debate, especially on the Christian side. Here at last is a book which raises the whole issue to a new level of fair and informed discussion. DAVID R. MACE

Telepathy and Medical Psychology, by Jan Ehrenwald. (Allen and Unwin, 12s. 6d.)

The subject of Telepathy—by which is meant the communication of mind with mind without the use of any of the senses—has teased the mind of man from earliest times. The work of William McDougall, J. B. Rhine, Whately Carrington, and Professor Von Neureiter has invaded this mysterious field and established certain scientific conclusions, the most important of which is that Telepathy is a fact and not a superstition. Prof. Ehrenwald's excellent book, based on the works mentioned above and on his own researches, is of special interest to the medical psychologist and the

pastor interested in psychotherapy. He deals with Telepathy in Dreams; its relevance to psychoanalytical treatment; its place in the understanding of Paranoia and Schizophrenia; and its importance in neurotic states. It is high time that psychical research should cease to be regarded as unworthy of scientific attention, and that a bridge should be built so that the findings of the psychic investigators may be available to the medical psychologist, and Prof. Ehrenwald admirably offers such a bridge. Having had a long experience, on the Continent and in Britain, both in psychiatry and in psychical research, he believes that through telepathic mechanism a patient builds impressions into his mental structure. His book breaks new ground and offers some amazing instances of para-normal cognition, without drawing conclusions from them which strain credulity. It is a most important contribution to the psychiatrist's understanding of the clinical material presented to him by the neurotic and psychotic patient.

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD

The Resurrection and the Life, by Leslie D. Weatherhead, with an appendix on Physical Resurrection. (The Epworth Press, 3s.)

These five addresses—'Christ is Risen', 'Christ is Alive Today', 'Christ Offers Life Now', 'Christ Offers Life Hereafter', and 'Christ is Relevant to Life Today'—offer to us a *Living Christ*. In them, by argument, by poetic imagination, and by apt illustration, Dr. Weatherhead reveals a Risen Lord, who is not only alive, but also communicates life now and hereafter. The message is direct, near to human life and need, vibrantly vital. Dr. Weatherhead keeps close to his theme, *The Resurrection and the Life*, but always in its relation to the burthen and the mystery of human life. There is strength and tenderness in these addresses, and a fearless quest for truth. The writer states the various arguments against accepting the Resurrection story and deals with them fairly and squarely, yet in such a way that the difficulties do not remain as disturbing factors, but are sublimated into a living faith. In these addresses Dr. Weatherhead links three subjects—his theme, the world and its anguish and sins, and those to whom he is talking. He offers a living Christ, bright with hope and power, to men and women living in a war-weary world, and the offer will not be in vain.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH

Prayer and the Christian Life, by E. Hayman. (S.C.M., 8s. 6d.)

Those who are not acquainted with the 'art of mental prayer' will find this book as good an introduction as any. It consists of addresses delivered at an S.C.M. Prayer School in 1946. There are occasional colloquialisms which tend to distract the reader, but this is a small blemish. Not only the beginner in the life of prayer, but also those who are well advanced in it, may learn a good deal from this book. Its substance falls mainly in the central chapters, which are on the Prayer of the Mind—Meditation: the Prayer of the Heart—Affective Prayer: the Prayer of the Will—Adoration and Intercession: the Prayer of Daily Life—Recollection. Those to whom, by their training and tradition, a minute analysis of prayer is unfamiliar and perhaps uncongenial, will, *eo ipso*, learn most from Mr. Hayman. He makes his own position clear, in a gentle, unobtrusive manner, in his first chapter. This is partly an historical sketch of the life of prayer in Christian history. Here Mr. Hayman says: 'The whole character of Christian devotion seemed to change under the influence of the Reform' (that is, the Reformation), and the reader is left in no doubt which style of Christian devotion the author prefers, though, as he reads the account of 'Protestant Christianity', he may well question Mr. Hayman's familiarity with this branch of his subject. While he often says that 'prayer begins with God', the impression remains that prayer is essentially a task, and a difficult one (cf. Chapter 2, 'The Work of Prayer'). For example, we read: 'I am not trying to discourage anyone's praying,

but I can't pretend that intercession is child's-play.' Of course this is true, and there is nothing in this good book better than the account of intercession as being 'crucified with Christ', yet is it not one-sided? Does not the New Testament leave us with the paradox that to pray is both so easy that a child can do it, and so difficult that only Christ and the Holy Spirit can do it?

C. K. BARRETT

Manual of Elocution for the Ministry, by Frank Philip. (T. and T. Clark, 6s.)

This 'Manual', by a teacher of elocution at the University of Edinburgh, will be of great help to all who are preachers or who train preachers. It is true that no manual, however excellent, can altogether take the place of personal, *viva voce* tuition, but this manual gives special guidance for such tuition. It is a strange fact that not one of us can hear his own voice as it is heard by others. For most of us it would be a good thing if we could hear our own voices on gramophone records; the results might be surprising, but they would certainly be salutary. But for all these or any other methods of personal tuition the manual given to us by Mr. Philip is supplementary and is well worth reading not only once but several times. It contains much excellent and detailed advice on breathing, stance, gesture, tone, vocal practice, emphasis, and similar matters. There is also a great deal of interesting information concerning the vocal organs, with a number of really good illustrations. The manual concludes with valuable advice regarding public prayer, the reading of the Bible, the choice of lessons and of hymns, and indeed the whole conduct of public worship. We are grateful to Mr. Philip and we commend his book to all who lead our worship. They will find it full of help in their high calling.

THOS. H. BARRATT

The Catechist and his Work, edited by Harry Belshaw. (Lutterworth Press, 4s.)

This is a collection of articles by missionaries and ministers of the Methodist Church on the Gold Coast. The articles are direct in approach, simple in style, and there is a sustained reference to such practical things as the use of time and money, school equipment, the needs of the illiterate, and Christian standards (for example, of marriage) in a non-Christian environment. Yet there is also constant reference to fundamentals. The Catechist is led to see, from the exposition of the meaning of the Church and the nature of fellowship, that he and his people are indeed of the Church Universal, and that worship is an event of supreme significance, the meeting of the assembled people with God. Again, throughout there is an insistence on the necessity of teaching carefully the facts concerning Jesus and the essentials of Christian doctrine and conduct. The authors encourage constructive experiment, and the article—by an African minister—on 'The *Mmoguo* Way of Preaching' shows how Christian worship may be linked with African custom by breaking the address into sections, each followed by the singing of a short and suitable hymn or verse. While it is a pity that the article on Baptism is so exclusively concerned with the adult convert that the Editor is left to make reference to the baptism of infants, as best he can, in his own article on the Holy Communion, we believe that this book will be useful in the younger churches, and we also commend it as presenting the life of an African Church from a point of view uncommon in missionary literature.

G. F. HOLLINGHURST

A Short History of the Chinese People, by L. Carrington Goodrich. (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.)

The son of a famous American missionary, Dr. Goodrich has accomplished a most remarkable task, for he has compressed the four thousand years of China's history into a readable and authoritative book of 232 pages. He cites Dr. Latourette as one of his teachers and, like that well-known historian, he manages to pack chapters into sentences. This History is less a people's history than a picture of China's social and

cultural development down the ages. The outline of the story is clear enough to be followed with interest, though not the most retentive Chinese memory could possibly hold all the details. The volume includes an inset of twenty-four well-produced and revealing plates, a series of maps that are almost a book in themselves, excellent chronological tables, and an indispensable index. This is a book to be read again and again, and to be kept for reference. Religion, art, literature, politics, war, and peace, relations with the world and with other nations, all find their true place in the stream of history. To note which products and inventions are China's own and which the outcome of her contact with other races and other nations, are matters of absorbing interest on which Dr. Goodrich's book throws a good deal of light. Altogether this brief history is to be commended whole-heartedly to all who would know and understand their China better. Only competent historians will be able to form an opinion on Dr. Goodrich's historical judgements, but, for the ordinary intelligent reader, this is a most absorbing and informative book. H. B. RATTENBURY

Maharajahs, Misery, and Magic, by Cyril J. Davey. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)

Mr. Davey has succeeded in getting nearer to the heart of India than most writers with his limited experience. He travelled widely in the country to do a chaplain's work, but he was not content to confine his interest and sympathy to the men in the Forces. He caught something of the glamour of India, as he is not ashamed to acknowledge, but he also realized something of her great needs and fears. His chapter on 'Fear never fails' not only gives a clear account of the fear of the great communities for each other, and fear of poverty, disease, evil spirits, demons, etc., but shows that these fears can only be understood in the background of Indian lives, and he notes that in the Christian community fear of evil spirits and godlings quickly disappears. India is a land of problems, and many of these are associated with aspects of Indian life of which a casual observer knows little. Mr. Davey shows that he is aware of the difficulties of village life and the reactions of the industrial development now rapidly taking place. For him 'magic' means the magic of the discovery of the Kingdom of God in the fellowship of Christians of many nations which he experienced under varying circumstances. This fellowship is indeed a miracle. A. R. SLATER

Gay Adventure, by H. L. Gee. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)

In this book Mr. Gee has the congenial company of a Methodist Minister on his journey. In his own humorous way he once more shows real insight into the outlook of the many diverse folk they meet. Even their 'good companions' for a short part of the 'adventure' are depicted in such clear style and simplicity that we join in the pilgrimage and get their 'point of view', whether they are lay or clerical. The book will help all readers to a broader view of life. It shows that there is culture in remote places 'far from the madding crowd', and how parsons may learn much when they fare forth wearing an ordinary collar and tie. This little treasure of a book will while away many a half-hour. It would make a good gift from husband to wife or wife to husband or friend to friend. G. SWAINE

From My New Shelf

BY C. RYDER SMITH

Two Hebrew Prophets, by H. Wheeler Robinson. (Lutterworth Press, 6s.)

This volume is a welcome legacy from a deceased leader of Christian scholarship. The two Prophets are Hosea and Ezekiel. Prof. Robinson had lectured on both, and his successor at Regent's Park has rightly decided that the lectures ought to be published. Dr. Robinson might have changed a phrase or two and made a few additions, particularly in the lectures on Ezekiel (for instance, he might have added an exposition of the phrase 'Son of man'), but what we have is too precious to be lost. The series of lectures on the later Prophet is entitled 'The Visions of Ezekiel'. Beginning with a discussion of the literary problem, Prof. Robinson sides with Bertholet in thinking that Ezekiel prophesied both in Judea and Babylon. (On page 100 'Ras Shama' should be 'Ras Shamra'.) But he soon passes to the theme of which he was master—the interpretation of the Prophet's message in the terms of today. Perhaps the section on 'The Honour of God' may be called 'central'. Some would not perhaps think Ezekiel so stern as Prof. Robinson does. But there is here a lucid estimate of what 'counts' in an obscure Prophet such as only a 'past master' could make. The other lectures are called 'The Cross of Hosea', the very title showing that here is a Prophet after the writer's own heart. Underlying all three lectures there is one purpose—to show how largely Hosea, through his personal agony, anticipated the Cross of Crosses. Indeed, these lectures set out the doctrine of the Atonement, not in terms of academic theology, but according to the poignant psychology of life. Prof. Robinson is not afraid to teach both 'The Higher Anthropomorphism' and the Passibility of God. What a change in the Christian approach to the Old Testament he exhibits! There is here no quoting of fragments of isolated texts, but an exposition of the imperfect but profound *preparatio evangelica* of the Prophets.

The Church and the Sacraments, by P. T. Forsyth. (Independent Press, 10s. 6d.)

In his Preface to this volume Dr. Forsyth wrote that 'there is some amount of repetition' and that its 'note' is 'thetic rather than dialectic'. In reality there is much repetition, and—for instance, under the discussion of the Mass—there is a good deal of dialectic. The late Canon Mozley, in a Preface written for this reprint (in which there are a good many misprints), properly eulogized his friend, while indicating that he did not everywhere agree with him. Perhaps, like some others, he could not agree with Forsyth's suggestion that in one or two passages Paul and John may have begun to lead the Church astray. The truth is that Forsyth's interest lay, not in exegetical detail, but, to use his own word, in 'theodicy'. This book is probably the finest account we have of a doctrine of Church, Ministry, and Sacraments, that is both evangelical and 'high'. It founds, of course, on Forsyth's Theology of Act. His daughter has rightly decided that it should be reprinted just as her father wrote it, for the reader can easily bring it up to date at the few points where this is needed.

The Myth of the Magus, by E. M. Butler. (Cambridge Press, 21s.)

I have found this book both irritating and interesting. Early in it the writer, who is a Professor of German at Cambridge, rather disarmingly tells her readers that she is not a specialist in any of the subjects involved in her subject. This comes out, for instance, in her treatment of the 'ritual pattern' elaborated by Prof. Hooke. Its leading ideas are that the divine king was a 'corporate person', that he was 'sacrificed' in the strict sense of the word, and that his death secured the repetition of the ordinary

processes of the growth of his people's food. There is no real connexion between these three ideas and the *magi*. The Persian Magians do not furnish one. Again, it will not do to find a parallel with the second idea because Joan of Arc can be said to have been 'sacrificed' in a different sense of the word. She was not offered in sacrifice to a god. Prof. Butler also gives us a description, under ten headings, of the characteristics of the *magus*. What it amounts to is that a professional man of mystery set out to be as mysterious as possible, and that, when others thrust mystery upon such a man as Zoroaster, they usually completed the process by attributing to him a 'supernatural' origin and a 'supernatural' future. The process, as the writer says, is all the easier because 'all tales of magic are by their nature traditional'. Again, for her Christ is just the greatest of the *magi*. To discuss what she says about Him and what she leaves unsaid would need a book. So much for the word 'irritating'. Under 'interesting' the chief item is Prof. Butler's accounts of people who are usually mentioned only cursorily and tantalizingly. For instance, there is an account of that very second-rate *magus*, the real Doctor Faustus. One is not surprised to read that it was curiosity about him that set the writer on her search into the many specialists' books that deal with magicians. Others of the best chapters portray the Simon Magus of legend, Gerbert, and Doctor Dee. These were accounted masters of 'black magic', but, particularly in the first part of her book, Prof. Butler includes masters of 'white magic' too. She shows how the Christian Church drove magic underground for many centuries, and how it has emerged again in the last two centuries—for instance, in Cagliostro, Madame Blavatsky, and Rasputin. Of course, in the stories of magicians there is a mixture of fact and fiction which is usually inextricable. There is a series of excellent plates, beginning with 'The Magical Head of the Zohar' and ending with a Russian caricature of Rasputin. Both are gruesome. One could wish that Prof. Butler had confined herself to her true subject—an account of the famous magicians of history.

Charles Wesley as Revealed by his Letters, by Frank Baker. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)

Here at long last is a good book about Charles Wesley—a very good book. I can only think of two small suggestions—a lazy reader would be glad if the approximate date were attached to each letter, and the relevant parts of the last chapter, on 'Sweet Singer', might easily have been included under other chapters. But every chapter teems with interest. One of the most interesting tells of the courtship and marriage of the two brothers. Charles seems to have been quite convinced that John ought not to marry, and it took him a long time to become convinced that he himself ought! For Methodist history the letters about 'separation' from the Church of England are the most important. It is a great advantage to see the subject from Charles Wesley's point of view. One could wish that the letters of the two brothers about it might be printed together in order of dates. It is good news that Mr. Baker is busy with a volume that will deal with all the extant six hundred letters of Charles Wesley. Must it not be, in effect, a 'Life and Letters'? The present book has an excellent introduction, with reproductions of Russell's portrait and of a letter to Sally Gwynne. The volume is an enlargement of this year's Wesley Historical Society Lecture, which was delivered in the best possible place, the New Room at Bristol. It justifies the whole series of Lectures, if this were needed, and it whets the appetite for the larger book.

The Age of Peel and Cobden, by Elie Halévy. (Ernest Benn, 25s.)

When Prof. Halévy died, the first three volumes of his great *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* had been published, together with two volumes called 'Epilogue'. This left a gap extending from 1841 to 1895. The historian had, how-

ever, gone far to complete the volume dealing with the years from 1841 to 1852, and he had left many notes and synopses for the uncompleted part. With the help of these his collaborator, M. Vaucher, has been able to complete the whole volume for Home Affairs and to 1848 for Foreign. The work has been very ably done, though the parts for whose final form M. Vaucher is responsible are rightly distinguished from the rest. The translation into English has been made by Mr. E. I. Watkin, who translated all the other volumes. There are some sentences that do not 'run' well in the English, and a few more commas would be welcome. For the period in question Peel is Prof. Halévy's hero. The background is the Europe of 1848 and the subject the troubled England of 1846. Peel was the man not only who yielded to the pressure of the masses of the 'people' who still had no votes, but who knew both when to yield and how to yield, both what to do and how to do it. For Prof. Halévy Lord John is almost contemptible, and Palmerston hardly more than a brilliant meddler. There is no need to say that, as the immense number of footnotes shows, Prof. Halévy had ransacked contemporary records of very various kinds of 'documentation'. As in his other volumes, he has much to say about religion. Here and there one may differ from his judgement (as his translator does about Manning). Was not Maurice rather than Ludlow the true leader of the Christian Socialists, and had Maurice 'a profound contempt for all the dogmas in which the Churches sought to confine Christian sentiment'? Again, is it not misleading to say that 'it was on an issue of political organization that the Free Church (of Scotland) had seceded', and would Baptists admit that their belief is accurately depicted in the words 'no one should be baptized until he knew himself to be fit to be so'? Of the concluding and summarizing chapter Prof. Halévy had only written the part on 'Religious Beliefs'. While he might have revised or rephrased the 'Conclusion', this discussion shows the great historian at his best, even though here and there one could challenge a phrase. He deals not only with the Church of England, the Catholics, and Dissent, but with 'the Growth of Secularism', and shows that only about half of the possible worshippers attended churches and chapels. (*Only* about half!) He held that the 'two outstanding events' of the period 'in the religious sphere' were 'the schism in the Wesleyan body and the reform of Wesleyanism' and 'the restoration by Rome of the Catholic hierarchy in England'. His analysis of the results of the latter are very instructive. For Methodism his sources are less numerous and varied than before. He relies chiefly on George Smith's *History*. He thinks that Bunting was a true statesman, a verdict that need not here be discussed. There are a very few misprints, notably the statement that Parliament authorized the construction of '1,582,000' miles of railroad in Ireland!

Dostoevsky, by L. A. Zander. (S.C.M., 10s.)

This book needs a sub-title, though it is not easy to suggest one. It sets out to answer the question, 'How far can the teaching of Christianity, as taught in the Russian Church, be found, whether he knew it or not, in Dostoevsky?' Prof. Zander proceeds by selecting and studying certain characters in the novels, but he throws his net quite wide. After an introductory chapter, he argues, from two examples of sudden conversion, that for the great novelist God is transcendent. No doubt he is thinking here of the charge that Russian Christian thought is almost entirely immanent. The two best chapters follow. They are a study of motherhood—first in 'the Good Earth'; then in certain women, notably in some 'humble ones' who form hardly more than part of the background of the novels; finally, in the Virgin, though here Prof. Zander is not able to find as large a number of examples. Finally, there is a chapter called 'The Bridegroom',—that is, Christ. Here our author claims that, while the novelist never quite reached the Christian doctrine, he came within a step

of it, and he suggests that, if Dostoevsky had lived, he would have taken the last step. Prof. Zander 'lectures on philosophy and theology in the Russian Theological Institute in Paris', and belongs to the group of Christian scholars in exile there. In some ways he is a disciple of Bulgakov, as, indeed, he acknowledges. On the other hand, at an important point he differs from Florensky. He quotes often from the German writer Guardini, a Catholic student of Dostoevsky, and uses quotations from the poet Ivanov to illustrate the trend of Russian Christianity. While there are points, as Prof. Zander admits, where other students of the novels would not agree with all that he says, this is a very suggestive study. Those who are interested in Russian Christianity and those who want to understand Dostoevsky will alike find this volume of great value. While Lenin is the hero of the 'party' at present dominant in Russia, Dostoevsky, more than any other, is *the* Russian.

Christianity in Southern Fenland, by R. F. McNeile. (Bowes and Bowes, Cambridge, 12s. 6d.)

This book tells the story of the Church in *and* (as the writer admits) *around* Southern Fenland from the earliest times to the Restoration. Fortunately for the reader Cambridge lies on the edge of the area. More is told about it than any other place. The book is written for the general reader, and Mr. McNeile has skilfully put the local story in the background of England at large. He has also explained a good many terms—so much so that one could wish he had added 'Collegiate Church', for instance, and 'prebend'. He suggests that specialists may differ from him here and there. Many of them, for example, would not agree that in Saxon England the monks either served the parishes of the neighbourhood or taught its boys. But to criticize in this way is almost to carp. Mr. McNeile's industry in the searching of local records illuminates the life of the centuries in things large and small. He shows, for instance, both how Cambridge has considerable claims to be the 'cradle' of Protestantism in England and of Puritanism, and how dogs sometimes went to church. The book will interest many who, while not Fenlanders, delight in picturesque and 'telling' detail. And, when it comes to disputes, as it often does, Mr. McNeile always sees both sides.

Go East, Old Man, by Vernon Bartlett. (Latimer House, 9s. 6d.)

In my young days we went to 'the Diorama'—i.e. the 'magic lantern' at its best—to watch a rapid succession of excellent pictures and listen to someone's comments. This book is like a series of dioramas, but, of course, a reader can look at a picture as long as he likes, and, besides, the commentator is Mr. Vernon Bartlett. He 'went east' by South and East Africa, Ceylon, Malaya, Siam, China, and Japan, and came back by the Suez Canal. Everywhere there were Governors, journalists, civil servants, merchants, and other 'leading people', waiting or willing to talk to him. Mr. Bartlett's chief interest is in the common people of all colours, but no doubt the curse of Babel kept him from talking to *them*. The book teems with graphic details—for instance, we read of Chinese pillows and Japanese clogs, of the origin of the word 'posh', of the datura poison that robs a man of memory, and (a 'speciality' of Mr. Bartlett's) of the quality of the bathing everywhere. On larger subjects the writer gives us his own skilfully compact summaries, which always do justice to 'all sides' before he adds his own judgement. His account of China is gloomy indeed; he fears that Chiang Kai-shek has out-lived his greatness. In Japan he hints that, while MacArthur has done great things, they are not nearly as great as the General thinks. There are only a few books that justify the *morbus scribendi* of the globe-trotter, but this is one of them. But do the Singhalese practise caste, and are the coolies of Ceylon buried in coffins? There is no table of contents and no index.

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

In *Thinking Again about the Future Life* (Independent Press, 4s.) Maurice Watts deals admirably with Spiritualism and Re-Incarnation. He also sums up quite well the distinctive and perennial Christian doctrine about the Hereafter, and illustrates the present tendency to believe in prayer for the departed. But does Paul mean 'personality' by 'body'? And in expounding Peter's passage about 'spirits in prison' (not 'in Sheol', as Mr. Watts has it), is it fair to omit all reference to the phrase 'in the days of Noah'? . . . 'Let the women keep silence in the Church', said St. Paul. Happily he couldn't add 'and on the wireless'! In the two Broadcast Services included in *Makes Drudgery Divine* (The Epworth Press, 9d.) Ruth Waldram (my daughter, by the way) and Kathleen Johnson gave the addresses and their husbands did the rest, but in both Services wife and husband are one. Subjects? 'The Housewife's Job' and 'Housework and Christianity'. The second is 'right on the spot', and so is—! . . . *Jerusalem—The Garden Tomb* (Garden Tomb Association, Finsbury Court, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.1, 1s. 6d. post free) brings the case for what used to be called 'Gordon's Tomb' up to date. The claim is put quite temperately, but while it is probable that the 'Place of Stoning' is Golgotha, is it more than possible that our Lord was buried in the 'Garden Tomb'? . . . What Canon E. C. Rich emphasizes most in *Some Principles of Evangelism* (S.P.C.K., 2s.) may be gathered from a few quotations: 'The Christian Commonwealth' is 'not a machinery for saving souls but the redemption of a corporate life'; the counterpart of Original Sin is 'the gift of New Birth in Baptism'; 'True evangelism can spring only out of a revitalized Church'; 'the Evangelical appeal divorced from the Catholic setting can present but a very limited and one-sided view of Christianity'; 'It is not our business to seek to lead anyone into an "experience".' It is unhappily true that, at any rate in the past, Evangelicals have sometimes been over-individualistic. . . . The Institute of Christian Education (46, Gordon Square, W.C.1) has published a pamphlet on *The Teaching of Miracles* (1s.), which, except that the bibliography might have been classified, could hardly have been better done. Dr. William Robinson deals with 'the general approach', and Miss Margaret Avebury and Miss Kathleen Carrick Smith with the presentation of the subject respectively to senior and junior pupils. The pamphlet gives just the right kind of help to a teacher who says 'I don't want to shirk the subject, but—?' The Institute also issues a pamphlet entitled *School Worship* (1s. 6d.). It was written by Miss H. T. Salzer after the discussions of a group of experts. It is equally good in defining the high and wide aims of worship and suggesting detailed ways and means. There is a classified bibliography and the infants are not forgotten. It meets a pressing need with complete success. . . . *The Church in the Atomic Age*, by Dr. Lovell Cocks, is a welcome reprint from *The Congregational Quarterly* (Independent Press, 9d.). It is not possible to summarize the sustained argument in a few lines. It leads up to the question, 'If atomic warfare destroyed civilization, what would any surviving Christians do?' and it gives a three-fold answer: 'They would creep into holes and corners to wait upon God; He would give them the Spirit of wisdom and power; they would therefore be the strongest force in the world.' What Christian can deny it? But then comes the boomerang challenge: 'Why delay till we are driven into holes and corners?' Dr. Cocks puts all this and much more in his own sane and convincing way. . . . *Toward True Baptism*, by James Gray (Berean Press, Birmingham, 1s.), gives a very convenient account of recent discussions in Paedo-Baptist Churches, arranged under the Scandal of Indiscriminate Infant Baptism (and of nominal sponsorship), its Incompleteness, the recognition of the need for Believers' Baptism, and the Bishop of Oxford's proposal to substitute catechumenata for Infant Baptism. Barth's lecture (too recent for inclusion) is mentioned in a note. The title indicates

the writer's own position. . . . In *God and Time* (1s.) the Independent Press has published three broadcasts given by Dr. John Marsh, of Manchester College, Oxford, on the three Comings of Jesus—Future, Past, and Present. He takes parts of Mark 13 (with 'Lo! he comes with clouds descending'), Luke 2, and Matthew 2, as starting-points, and shows affectionately and effectively how relevant all three Comings are to daily life *now*. Incidentally one notes that he accepts the historicity of the stories of the Shepherds and of the Wise Men (with Herod's massacre of the children). . . . 'K. B.' is wise enough to ponder his Bible chapter by chapter and not merely by verses. He has given us some of the results in *Notes on St. John's Gospel* (Soulwinners' Prayer Union, Markyate, Herts, 1s. 3d.). For 'notes' read 'studies'. They will help anyone who reads his Bible to feed his soul. For this purpose it does not matter that K. B. believes that the Son of Zebedee took the discourses of the Fourth Gospel straight from his master's mouth. . . . Is there a 'prophethood of all believers'? In *The Prophetic Ministry of the Church* (Independent Press, 6d.) Rev. Leslie E. Cooke rightly claims that there is, but he doesn't discuss the difficulties of the doctrine, and has his picture the right focus? He says much of the social and political teaching of the Old Testament Prophets, but little of 'the Prophet of Nazareth'. A Christian's 'prophecy'—i.e. his message from God—centres in 'Ye must be born again'. . . . It was Papua that led the Churches 'down under' to consider Inter-communion (with or without Reunion). It is mostly a familiar story that Bishop De Witt Batty tells in *The Australian Proposals for Inter-communion* (S.P.C.K., 2s.), but, starting from 'Lambeth, 1920', Anglicans, Congregationalists, and Methodists have agreed on a definite and very interesting 'Mutual Formula' for an extension of 'commission'. Anglo-Catholics could easily accept it, but, as the Bishop of London allows in a preface, it would be harder for Free Churchmen. He is not fully informed about Inter-communion in the non-Episcopal Churches. . . . In spite of its title, *On the Road to Amsterdam*, by O. J. Beard (Independent Press, 1s.), is not out of date. It answers the question 'What is this "Amsterdam, 1948" anyway?', and gives a concise account both of the divisions of the Church from the beginning and of the search after *ecumenical* Reunion in recent times. To describe the *partial* reunions that have already been achieved lies outside its scope. . . . *Radiant Faith* (The Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.) is 'a memoir of Arthur Adlington by those who knew him'. They include four of his children. He entered the mine at thirteen, became a Methodist Minister at twenty-nine, and died in 1947. Two of his sermons are printed. Clearly he could not be dull. This booklet is a tonic for depression. There are still Christians who joyfully 'witness the good confession' not in vain. . . . Richard Baxter's very 'spacious' discourses lend themselves to anthology. In *As Silver is Tried* (Independent Press, 4s.) Mr. C. E. Surman has arranged quotations from *The Reformed Pastor* for daily meditation during a month. The book is a rarity—a good devotional book for *Ministers* (though not only for them). The key-note is 'Gird up your loins'. . . . Dr. Norman Snaith has added another volume to his 'Study Notes' for those beginning Hebrew, this time on *Genesis I–VIII* (The Epworth Press, 4s.). Would there had been such a series fifty years ago!

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

The Scottish Journal of Theology, June (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 3s. 6d.).

This new quarterly fills a serious gap. It is to deal with 'Dogmatic, Biblical, and Applied Theology'.

While it is intended primarily for 'the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland', contributions are invited from all the Churches. This Journal will be welcome to every student of theology.

The Office of Christ in Predestination, by J. K. S. Reid.

The Christian Understanding of the Truth, by D. M. Mackinnon.

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, by G. Johnston.

The Doctrine of Grace in the Old Testament, by T. F. Torrance.

A Question of Words (re-statement in theology and evangelism), by J. G. Riddell.

The Problem of Communication (in evangelism over-seas), by Stephen C. Neill.

The Hibbert Journal, July (Allen & Unwin, 10s. per annum).

(Extracts from) *The Origins of the New Testament*, by Alfred Loisy, trans. by L. P. Jacks.

The Single One and the Other, by Constance J. Smith.

Richard Baxter and the Problem of Certainty, by Margaret L. Wiley.

Church Statistics for England, by R. D. Macleod.

H. G. Wells, *Materialist and Mystic*, by Sidney Spencer.

The Expository Times, June (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 3d.).

The Jewish Background of the Teaching of Jesus: Apocalyptic and Pharisaism, by W. D. Davies.

Richard William Church, by F. H. Durnford.

do., July.

The Problem of the Authorship of 1 Peter, by E. G. Selwyn.

Isaac Watts, by Norman V. Hope.

The Church and Christian Marriage Today, by A. Herbert Gray.

do., August.

The Background of the Term 'Son of Man', by John Bowman.

The Place of Eschatology in the Fourth Gospel, by C. K. Barrett.

Religion and the Variety of Religions, by H. L. Stewart.

do., September.

Preaching and Theology in the Thirteenth Century and Today, by Ian A. Muirhead.

The Dates in Ezekiel, by Norman H. Snaith.

Goodspeed's Theory regarding the Origin of Ephesians, by C. Leslie Mitton.

The International Review of Missions, July (Oxford Press, 3s.).

Toward a Theology of Missions, by Marcus Ward.

Training and Maintenance of the Christian Ministry in China, by T. C. Chao.

The Position of the African in South Africa, by the Archbishop of Cape Town.

Three Leaders of the Syrian Church of South India, by C. E. Abraham.

Totem and Taboo: a Revaluation, by G. Parrinder.

Die Zeichen der Zeit, Heft 4, 1948 (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Gmb H., Berlin No. 18, Georgenkirchstrasse 70, RM. 1.50).

Existentialismus, by Christine Bourbeck.

Die Bekenntnisgrundlage der EKD, by Wilhelm von Rhoden.

Besuchsdienst der Kirche, by Albrecht Schönherr.

do., Heft 5, 1948.

Thesen zur Taufe, by Günther Harder.

Die Kirche zwischen Ost und West (anonymous).

Democratie in Christlicher Schau, by Martin Doerne.

Gedanken zur kirchlichen Verfassungsreform, by Reinhard T. Scheffer.

Unterwegs, Heft 2, 1948 (Unterwegs Gmb H., Wolf-Diefer Zimmermann, Bln-Spandau, Seegfelder Str. 22, RM. 2.00).

Die Stunde des Konfessionalismus, by Erwin Grosz.

Der Neuordnung der evangelischen Kirchen (anonymous).

Democratie und Christliche Kirche, by Gustav W. Heinemann.

Die sieben Todsünden, by Selma Lagerlöf.

Zur Frage der Entnazifizierung (three writers).

Journal of Theological Studies, January-April (Oxford Press, 16s. per annum).

Audition in the Old Testament, by L. H. Brockington.

The Emergence of the Tiberian Massoretic Text, by B. J. Roberts.

Origen's Doctrine of Tradition, by R. P. C. Hanson.

The Council of Trent on the AUTHENTIA of the Vulgate, by E. F. Sutcliffe.

Harvard Theological Review, January (Oxford Press, \$3 per annum).

The Kingdom of Heaven (Luke xvii. 21), by Colin H. Roberts.

The Story of Jonah on a Magical Amulet, by Campbell Bonner.

Studies and Documents, by Edgar R. Smothers.

The Value and Influence of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History, by M. L. W. Laistner.

Tendentiousness in Patristic Collections, by Robert P. Casey.

do., April.

An Introduction to the MSS. of the New Testament, by R. V. G. Tasker.

Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body, by H. Chadwick.

Luther's View of Man in his First Published Work, by Heinz Bluhm.

Jonathan Edwards on the Sense of the Heart, by Perry Miller.

The Consecration of Faustina the Elder and her Daughter, by Harold Mattingly.

Theologische Zeitschrift, January–February (Fr. 28, Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt, Basel).

- Religionsgeschichtliche Ambivalenzerscheinungen, by Alfred Bertholet.
- Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei-Lehre, Genesis i. 26, by Ludwig Koehler.
- Gebetswirklichkeit und Gebetsmöglichkeit bei Paulus, by Werner Bieder.
- Kulturarbeit und Weltwende, by Hendrik van Oyen.

do., March–April.

- Le dernier repas de Jésus—fut-il un repas pascal? by Théo Preiss.
- Origenes' ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ—ein System patristischer Gnosis, by Hans Jonas.
- Die jüdischen Beweisgründe im Religionsgespräch mit den Christen in den christlich-lateinischen Sonderschriften des 5. bis 11. Jahrhunderts, by Bernhard Blumenkranz.

do., May–June.

- Theologische Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Testament, by Gerhard von Rad.
- Kirche und Synagoge in den ersten Jahrhunderten, by Hans Bietenhard.
- Griechische Gedanken in einem mittelalterlichen mystischen Gedicht, by Maria Bindschedler.

The Congregational Quarterly, July (Independent Press, 2s. 6d.).

- Recent Discussion of Baptism and Confirmation, by James Gray.
- The Message of P. T. Forsyth, by H. F. Lovell Cocks.
- The Religious Significance of the Cinema, by Vernon Sproxtton.
- The Doctor's View of the Chaplain's Ministry to the Sick, by J. Burnett Rae.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April–June (Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas, \$1).

- The Uses of the Psalter (recent Old Testament study), by Charles Lee Feinberg.
- British Theology during the Eighteenth Century, by Miner Broadhead Sterns.
- Church Reform in the late Middle Ages, by Peder Stiansen.

Contemporary Issues, Summer (Contemporary Press, 2s.).

This is a new quarterly which, alongside the *émigré* organ *Dinge der Zeit*, 'attempts to get into clear focus the solutions of latter-day problems'. Claiming to expound true democracy, it arraigns both victors and vanquished in the recent war.

- Germany and World Development, by Ernst Zander.
- Aspects of American Militarism, by Ray Jackson.
- German Resistance—Today, by Adalbert Knaes.
- John Dewey and the Peculiar Traits of American Thought, Part I, by A. E. Bain.

The Yale Review, Summer (Yale University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1.50).

- Notes on Life and Travel in Russia, by Fredk. C. Barghoorn.
- The American President, by Clinton L. Rossiter.
- David Copperfield, by E. K. Brown.
- Robert Frost and New England, by W. G. O'Donnell.

The Cambridge Journal, June (Bowes & Bowes, Cambridge, 3s.).

- The Church of England: Today and Tomorrow, by Norman Sykes.
- June Days (in Paris, 1848), by G. L. Arnold.
- The Scullery Window (F. W. H. Myers and Psychical Research), by G. H. Bantock.

Teachers of Today, June–August (Religious Education Press, 6d.).

- Some Elements of Film Appraisal, by L. Rees Howell.
- The Content of Religious Education, by Eric Dixon.
- Enlisting the Young Worker, by G. D. Wilkie.
- Just Imagine! (Small Children and Jesus), by Hilda J. Rostron.

Studies in Philology, April (University of North Carolina, via Cambridge Press, \$2).

- Renaissance Accounts of the Revival of Learning, by Herbert Weisinger.
- Traditional Elements in Greene's 'Friar Bacon', by Waldo F. McNeir.
- Some Methods of Approach to the Study of 'Hamlet', by Henry D. Gray.
- G.B.S. on Shakespearean Production, by E. J. West.
- Recent Literature of the Renaissance (in various languages), edited by Hardin Craig.

do., July.

- Adenot's *Berte* and the Ideological Situation in the 1270s, by Alfred Adler.
- John Gower and the last Years of Edward III, by Gardiner Stilwell.
- Unpublished Fragments by Shelley and Mary, by Frederick L. Jones.
- Keats, Empathy, and 'The Poetical Character', by Newell F. Ford.
- The Geography of Poe's 'Dream-land' and 'Ulalume', by J. O. Bailey.

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